

PROGRESS OF NEW YORK IN A CENTURY.

1776-1876.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

DECEMBER 7, 1875,

BY

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS.

NEW YORK:

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.

1876.

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With the regards of

John Austin Stevens

April 5: 1876

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NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

AT a stated meeting of the NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, held in its Hall on Tuesday Evening, December 7th, 1875:

Mr. JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS read the paper of the evening on "*The Progress of New York in a Century. 1776-1876.*"

On its conclusion, Mr. GEORGE H. MOORE submitted the following resolution, which was seconded by the Rev. Dr. SAMUEL OSGOOD, and adopted :

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Stevens, for his valuable paper read this evening, and that a copy be requested for publication.

Extract from the Minutes,

ANDREW WARNER,

Recording Secretary.

THE PROGRESS OF NEW YORK IN A CENTURY.

1776-1876.

MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS

OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY :

THE members of this Society will remember that early last winter a petition was addressed by it to the Governor and Legislature of the State of New York, praying for authority to prepare a Memorial Volume, showing the growth of the State during the last century; and it was respectfully urged that no more fitting contribution could be made by the State to the International Exhibition, to be held at Philadelphia, than a faithful record of the progress of this great community in political, civil, and social life. Other and more pressing duties have, no doubt, hindered the Governor of the State from paying any regard to this request, and the petition left in his hands by the Committee of this Society has never been presented to the Legislature. A further effort will be made at the approaching session, though the time is short for such an exhibit as the extent and nature of the subject demand.

It has not been the habit of New York to pause in its march to count the milestones which mark its progress. In the many new duties which perpetually crowd themselves upon this busy community, there has been little time for such considerations, and only here and there sketches like those of Duer, Francis, and King have attracted passing notice; but now that in the depression which almost inevitably follows a period of unusual activity, there is a moment of pause and discouragement, the thought may be profitably turned backward, new hope be derived from a retrospective view, and new courage drawn from the example of that wondrous activity which, from a depth of misery un-

paralleled in the history of any other of the colonial cities, has lifted New York to its undisputed pre-eminence as the metropolitan city of the Western Continent, and its rank among the few cosmopolitan cities of the world.

Early in the war the British Government recognized the importance of occupying the city of New York as a military post and a basis of supplies. Repeating the strategy, old as war itself, of dividing the hostile territory by seizing the great rivers which serve at once as lines of separation and easy avenues of transportation, the plan of subjugation included the occupation of Quebec and New York, and the establishment of a line of almost unbroken water communication by the Hudson and St. Lawrence, navigable high up for vessels of the largest size, which should isolate the great and populous New England colony from those of the Middle region. With these magnificent harbors, at which all her fleets could ride at easy anchor, Great Britain was sure of safe and convenient bases for the operation of her troops; and her vessels could patrol the long broad streams as safely as the warlike vessels of the old Northmen the streams and lakes of Southern Europe, from the Seine to the Mediterranean. A similar policy adopted by the great Union commanders during the late war held the Ohio and the Tennessee with gunboats, and again dividing the Confederacy by the broad and rapid course of the Mississippi, insured the final triumph of the national arms. The failure of Great Britain was not a consequence of her strategy, but inherent to the condition of the two countries. A careful perusal of the journals of the day, which abound in papers of remarkable vigor and sagacity, amply shows that there was never a doubt in the minds of the colonists of their ability to achieve their independence. Nor is it at all probable that, even with entire union in the councils of Great Britain, there could have been any other result. Indeed, as early as 1740 serious alarm had been felt in England by the Ministry, and a defection of the colonies feared.

Great Britain, rich in every appliance of civilization, whose foundries and manufactoryes had increased many fold her

manual force by mechanical contrivance, was poor in men. The complaint of Goldsmith, made in the "Deserted Village," in 1770, was still fresh in the ears of his countrymen, and his sigh of regret over the time

—."Ere England's griefs began,
When every rood of ground maintained its man,"

had been wafted across the Atlantic to those of a race who knew no such sorrow. In the land struggles of the Continental powers, where men were abundant and the material of war was scarce, the wealth and resources of Great Britain had always turned the scale, and on the sea she had proclaimed a policy of exclusion and imperial assumption which, since the defeat of the Dutch fleet, had never received more than temporary check. But the contest with the colonies was to be of man to man with a race to whom the very struggles for mastery of the continent with the old enemy, France, had taught the secrets of military science. In this contest no ingenuity or contrivance could make up for numerical inferiority, nor could the British Government hope for any serious advantage from local divisions or dissensions. With but few inconsiderable exceptions the colonists were of one mind, and though there were many, particularly in New York, of direct or near English descent, who were unwilling to take up arms against their immediate kindred, yet their secret sympathies were all with their old companions and friends. The American spirit was already strong. The king had said, "the test of the colonies is submission." But the colonies had been founded by men who would not submit to arbitrary rule, whether priestly or regal. The first act of repression crystallized resistance, and consolidated hesitating opinions into firm and set resolve.

It was the misfortune of New York, to whose sagacity and inflexible resolve the union of the colonies was chiefly due, that she should be, from her position of natural and central advantage, the seat of hostile occupation. The American leaders foreseeing, if not informed of the strategy of the enemy, had failed in their first efforts to thwart its accomplishment.

The attack upon Quebec had been repulsed, and the St. Lawrence lay open from its mouth to the Lakes. The line of the Hudson became now of the utmost importance, and while the northern army was slowly gathering for its defence, Washington moved from the eastward to New York, to cover the city and prevent the landing of Lord Howe. His efforts were fruitless; on the 22d August, 1776, the British troops were safely landed on Long Island, under the guns of the fleet, and Washington, defeated in a disastrous battle on the 27th, retreated across the river and prepared for the abandonment of the city.

It is hardly possible for those who have never personally witnessed the capture of a great city to realize the anxiety and gloom which fall upon the unfortunate population—an anxiety and gloom to which civil war adds double horrors. The result of the battle of Long Island filled New York with alarm, the apprehensions of the citizens being heightened by the memory of their struggles in the past with the royal troops, who had many a discomfiture to avenge. Numbers hastily followed the retreating army, including many sick and helpless, for whom Gen. Washington had provided with humane foresight.

On the 15th of September, 1776, the British troops took possession of the city, and in their train were refugees from all sections. Later, traders and speculators came in hordes by every transport fleet from Great Britain, and a large business sprung up in the purchase and sale of army supplies, but the city itself found no profit in this abnormal traffic. Its legitimate occupation as the outlet and inlet of product and supplies for a large section of country entirely disappeared, and its merchants, one by one, gave way to hucksters and petty traders whose interest was limited by and dependent upon the British occupation. The streets and buildings were allowed to go to decay, with the exception of temporary repairs for sanitary reasons, and the glories of the once thriving city were but a story of the past. Two terrible conflagrations added to the measure of distress and ruin. Hardly had the British troops taken possession ere (on the 21st of

September, 1776) a disastrous fire, breaking out in a small wooden house on the wharf near Whitehall, occupied by dissolute characters, spread to the northward, and consumed the entire city westward of Broadway to the very northernmost limit. In this terrible calamity, which owed its extent to the desertion of the city and the terror of the few remaining inhabitants, 493 houses were destroyed, including old Trinity and the Lutheran Church. Another destructive fire broke out on Cruger's wharf on the 3d of August, 1778, and burned about 54 houses.

At last the fortune of war changed. The thunder of the American artillery at Saratoga, where the sons of New York were in full force on her own battle-field, and at Yorktown, where the same gallant corps vied in friendly and not unequal rivalry with the trained officers of France, had cleared the sky, and beneath the smoke of battle peace was dawning in the near horizon. On the 24th of March, 1783, Robert R. Livingston, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, notified Washington, then at West Point, of the agreeable intelligence of a general peace, and on the 9th of April following, at 12 o'clock, peace was proclaimed from the steps of the City Hall by the Town Major. The patriots were in glee, the English occupants and their friends in alarm. Oliver de Lancey, the Adjutant-General of the Royal army, issued a proclamation a few days later, offering transportation to all those who wished to withdraw from the city, and measures were taken to establish a refugee colony in Nova Scotia. During the summer there was a constant departure by the fleets, and the Whigs began to pour into the city and take possession of their deserted homes and estates. Feeling ran high, and the remaining loyalists awaited in terror the hour when the final withdrawal of the British forces should leave them helpless at the mercy of the irritated patriots. The prudent foresight of Gen. Washington, counselling "moderation and steady behavior," and the wise precautions of Gov. Clinton, happily arrested any disposition to excess, and in this they were nobly seconded by the Whig leaders, who at the meeting to prepare for the reception of the American troops,

after a signification of their opinion of those who had remained in the city during the British occupation, by a request that any such withdraw from the room, pledged themselves to "prevent any confusion that may arise on and after the day of evacuation." On the 25th day of November the American army, under the command of Major-Gen. Henry Knox, marched from Harlem to the Bowery lane, where they remained until 1 o'clock, when, the British posts being withdrawn, the American column marched in and took possession of the city. Nothing could have been more grateful to New York than this disposition, for in Knox's artillery command was the favorite regiment, commanded by Col. John Lamb, and officered by men who like himself were of the earlier Patriots and Sons of Liberty. The new era began upon this day; henceforth New York is to move on her marvellous career. Stripped of everything, her streets in decay, her halls in dilapidation, her churches burned, desecrated, or abused, whole sections charred and blackened ruins, her shops empty--the retiring tradesmen having conveyed away their goods as well as their profits--her tenements vacant, her citizens in poverty and rags; a city of desolation; yet like the athlete who has thrown aside every external trapping, and stands stripped to the loins for the contest which is to strain every nerve and draw each muscle to the utmost tension, a contest of which fame, and wealth, and honor are the reward, she is the stronger for her nakedness. In a few years she appears reorganized, rebuilt, with new architecture, new institutions, *facile princeps* the imperial city of the continent.

Though New York had suffered the change in its physical surface and interior life, which is in every city the result of foreign hostile occupation, varying its purpose and pursuits, diverting its channels of industry, and disturbing its social organization, the limits of the city itself were the same in 1783 as on the outbreak of war in 1775. The area of the city at this time may be described as comprised within a line drawn from the North River at the foot of Reade street across the island in an easterly direction to the East River at the foot of Catharine street. Within this surface, which was

divided into six wards, known from the time of the charter granted by Gov. Montgomerie in 1730 as the West, South, Dock, East, North, and Montgomerie Wards, was the principal seat of population ; beyond, on a part of what was called the Out Ward, was an irregular parallelogram, with Division street as a base, extending easterly as far as Norfolk, and northerly to Hester, through which ran the Old Bowery Lane to Kingsbridge—a total surface averaging about three-fourths of a mile in width, and embraced within a circumference of about four miles. Broadway was then, as now, the ridge or back-bone of the lower end of the island. From it the land fell in easy slope to the East River, but to the westward a steep embankment, with occasional breaks, separated it from the Hudson, presenting an appearance from the river not unlike that of the Brooklyn Highlands within our own memory.

The water line on the East River, where the greater part of the shipping lay at this period, and a great depth of water was found at every pier, extended from Whitehall to the ship-yards at the foot of Catharine street, a distance of one and a half miles, passing in its easterly course Coenties slip, or the Albany Basins ; the Great Dock at the foot of Broad street ; Cruger's Wharf, a broad land projection on the line of present Front street, with extending piers, and Burnet's Key on the line of Water street ; and running with numerous other irregularities, and intersecting piers and slips, of which Coffee-House slip and its extension, Murray's Wharf, at the foot of Wall street, and Burling's, Beekman's, and Peck slips were the most important. From the Fly Market, at the foot of Maiden lane, a ferry communicated with Long Island. On the water-line of the Hudson, extending from the Battery to the foot of Reade street, one and a half miles, there were no wharves below Little Queen (now Cedar) street, and but few and inconsiderable structures above, as far as Murray street. From the rear of the houses on Broadway gardens were laid out on the slope, which ended in a sandy beach. Mr. Duer relates in his interesting sketch of old New York, that his mother was wont, in her youth, to amuse her-

self fishing from a summer-house or garden-wall overhanging the water in the rear of one of these Broadway houses. Cortlandt street was the principal street, cut through the green embankment; at its foot were the Bear (now Washington) Market, and the ferry to Powles Hook (now Jersey City), then as now the thoroughfare to the Jerseys. There was a third ferry from Scotch Johnnie's tavern at Whitehall to Staten Island.

The streets were irregular and of great diversity, the better houses being built of brick, after the English manner, except that the roofs were tiled. They were mostly painted. Water and Queen (now Pearl) streets were low and narrow, with insufficient sidewalks, in some parts with none. They were the chief business streets. Broad street, which extended from the Exchange at the water side to the City Hall, on the corner of Wall street, was the main avenue, a street of sufficient width and well inhabited. Wall street was a wide and elevated street, and the buildings in it large and elegant. The upper part, toward Broadway, was a fashionable residence, the lower end exclusively given up to stores, auctioneers' rooms, and offices, here and there interspersed with lodging-houses. Broadway was already beginning to be thought the most agreeable and convenient part of the city, being unincumbered by traffic, and from its high situation free from the nuisances with which the imperfect system of drainage afflicted the streets near the East River. Beginning at the Bowling Green, there were buildings as far as St. Paul's Church. The lower end facing the green was a favorite residence. The street numbers began here. No. 1 was the Kennedy mansion. On the corner of Stone street (now Thames street) was the famous tavern, afterwards replaced by the City Hotel. The great fire stopped with the destruction of Trinity Church, and spared the buildings to the northward on the front of the street. There were only two brick houses at the upper end of Broadway opposite St. Paul's, both of which have now disappeared. They later made part of the Arden estate, and one of them was for a long period occupied by the Chemical Bank, and, with its neighbor, is

now the site of the Park Bank building. On the opposite side of Vesey street there stood on the corner a building of two stories. A sign-board affixed upon it bore the inscription "Road to Albany," while on the opposite corner, on the house which has been replaced first by the American Museum, and since by The New York Herald building, a similar board pointed the traveller the "Road to Boston," through Chatham street, which ran as far as the Fresh Water, a street so called after the great Earl, who for so long stood first in the affection of the Colonies for his manly support of American rights and liberties. Thence the Boston Road ran through the Old Bowery lane to a point (present corner of Broadway and Twenty-third street) where it forked, and took the direction to King's Bridge, which it crossed.

Beyond lay the open space known as the Commons or Fields, and later as the City Park—a spot celebrated as the scene of many a public gathering during the colonial days. Here was held the great popular meeting on the evening of Friday, the 1st of November, 1765, which protested against the Stamp Act, burned the lieutenant-governor in effigy, and here also rallied the "prodigious concourse of people," as the journals of the day termed the armed multitude which, on the 5th of November, marched upon the fort and compelled the royal authorities to surrender the obnoxious instruments into the hands of the popular representative, the mayor of the city. On the western border of the Fields, opposite to what is now known as No. 252 Broadway, between Warren and Murray streets, and nearly opposite the latter, was planted the famous liberty pole about which many struggles took place between the British soldiery and the people. The fourth pole was planted here on the 19th of March, 1767, and a flag flung to the winds with the motto of "King, Pitt, and Liberty," which was maintained with many vicissitudes until the British occupation. This was the rally-point of the Sons of Liberty, an organization originated in the Stamp Act period, and revived, in November, 1773, to prevent the landing of the tea from the ships of the East India Company, which were announced as on the way; this was also the scene

of the great popular rising known as the "Great Meeting in the Fields," on the 5th of July, 1774, at which the youthful Hamilton, then a student at King's College, is said to have made his first appearance in public life. When Washington occupied the city, a part of the troops were quartered on the Commons, and here the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed and read to the army on the 9th of July, 1776. Later, on the entry of the British, the liberty pole was cut down, and the Commons became a scene of imprisonment and torture as the site of the new jail, the building now known as the Hall of Records.

Above the line of the Commons, on the west side of Broadway and north of Reade street, built upon the grounds of the old Ranelagh Garden, was the New York Hospital, extending from what is now known as Duane to Worth street, and opposite to Pearl street, where was then a broad green. Upon this beautiful site a building was begun by private subscription, the corner-stone of which was laid by Governor Tryon in 1773. It was hardly completed when in February, 1775, it was nearly destroyed by fire. During the war it was occupied in an unfinished condition as a military hospital by each army. Later completed, the New York Hospital was long a model of admirable curative art, but like other landmarks of the city, gave way in 1869 to the march of population, and has lost something of its old prestige. To the northward of the hospital grounds stood the Ranelagh House and Gardens, a summer resort. Beyond were farms and country residences, and to the westward the Church farm, the property of the already wealthy corporation of Trinity Church.

The only other open space in the city proper which served as a park was the ancient Bowling Green, sometimes called the Royal Bowling Green. This little green, now hardly noticeable save as one of the few open spots which has been left for public uses in the lower part of the city, was in the days of Dutch rule one of the most conspicuous features of the town. It was then part of the spacious green in front of the fort, where a market was daily and fairs occasionally

held; here the Train bands made their usual parade. In March, 1753, the corporation leased the ground to some of the inhabitants of Broadway, "to be enclosed as a Bowling Green, with walks therein for the beauty and ornament of the street," and it has since been known by this name.

In the centre of this green, on a white marble pedestal fifteen feet high, stood the equestrian statue of George III., erected by the Assembly, Thursday, the 16th of September, 1770, the anniversary of the birthday of Prince Frederick, second child of George III. This statue is described as made of metal, richly gilt, and the workmanship of the celebrated statuary, Mr. Wilton, of London. The same artist made a statue of George III. for the Royal Exchange of London. The erection in the Bowling Green was the occasion of a grand public display, the members of the Colonial and City Governments, the Corporations of the Chamber of Commerce and Marine Society, and the officers of the army and navy, waiting upon the Lieutenant-Governor at the fort near by, where toasts were drunk to the accompaniment of military music and artillery. To protect it the corporation in 1771 built an iron railing around the green at a cost of £800. The statue stood upon the green in all its gilded glory, the object of loyal admiration and patriot contumely until the evening of the 9th of July, 1776, when, after the hearing of the Proclamation of Independence, it was overthrown by the soldiery, an act of vandalism for which they received the rebuke of Gen. Washington in general orders the next morning. This was another instance of that disposition for destruction which unfortunately is not confined to the excited populace, but is shared by deliberative bodies. But too often the first act of a new order of government is the overthrow and ruin of even the artistic emblems of the old. The mutilated statue, the material of which was lead, is said to have been taken to Litchfield, Conn., and run into bullets for the use of the American army. Fragments of it still exist, one in the possession of this Society, and a bullet-mould to which a similar romantic story is attached. The slab on which the statue rested was taken to Powles

Hook in 1783, and was used as a memorial stone for the grave of Major John Smith, of the 42d Highland regiment. Later it served as a door-step for the residence of Mr. Cornelius Van Vorst in Jersey City, and has now a resting-place in the vestibule of this Society. The marks of the hoofs are still visible. The pedestal remained for some years in its original position, but was removed when the green was remodelled. It is to be regretted that there is no discrimination in these acts of barbarism. No complaint would be made by the present generation if some modern iconoclasts should destroy the hideous objects which now disgrace our public places, and are even invading the National capital, *proh pudor*, in the name of art.

At the intersection of Wall and Smith (now William street) stood the pedestrian statue erected to William Pitt "for the services he rendered America in promoting the repeal of the Stamp Act"—a peaceful victory as dear to the Colonies as ever conquest celebrated by triumphal pageant or memorial arches in the streets of ancient Rome. The statue is described in the journals of the day as of "fine white marble, the habit Roman, the right hand holds a scroll partly open, whereupon we read, *Articuli Magna-Charta Libertatum*; the left hand is extended, the figure being in the attitude of one delivering an oration." On the south side of the pedestal there was a Latin inscription, cut on a tablet of white marble. This statue (like that of George III., the workmanship of Wilton) was erected on the 7th September, 1770, by the Assembly of the Colony, "amid the acclamations of a great number of the inhabitants, and in compliance with a request of a public meeting of the citizens held 23d June, 1766," when the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act reached the city. This statue stood in its original position until 1787, when it was removed by city ordinance on the "petition of a majority of the Proprietors of the Lots of Ground in Wall street, as an obstruction to the city." It was then a deformity, having been beheaded and otherwise disfigured in 1776, during the British occupation. It lay for many years in the corporation yard, then in that of the arsenal, after which it stood

for a long period in front of Riley's Museum, or Fifth Ward Hotel, corner of West Broadway and Franklin street. It was later purchased by Mr. Samuel F. Mackie, one of our members, and by him presented to this Society, in the refectory of which it may now be seen. It is hoped that some liberal member will restore it to its original beauty, as its counterpart, which may serve as a model, is still in existence in Charleston.

The ground in front of the Trinity Cemetery was at this time, and for many years after the Revolution, the fashionable promenade, and was known as the "Church Walk," and the Mall. During the war seats were arranged for the public, and music was given every evening by military bands, while the army officers and such city belles as "loved the military" paraded up and down in pleasant discourse. In the present day, when the rights of the sexes are matters of discussion by the indignant of both in the public prints, it is amusing to notice a protest from a British officer in *The Royal Gazette*, 1780, against the "want of politeness and decorum in the masculine gender" in monopolizing the seats in the Mall. He remarks, with sense and sensibility, in the elegant language of the day, "that this must be very disagreeable to the fair sex in general, whose tender, delicate limbs may be tired with the fatigue of walking and being denied a seat to rest them." The Central Park to-day repeats in its broad and beautiful Mall and adjacent music-stand these features of the life of the city a century ago.

The public buildings were not striking either for size or beauty. The City Hall, which stood at the head of Broad street, where the elegant white marble structure occupied by the United States Treasury Department now stands, was a three-story brick building with wings. The ground floor was open as a thoroughfare. The site of the building was laid in the year 1700, on a bastion and line of stone fortifications which extended across the northern boundary of the city from the East to the Hudson River, whence the name of Wall street is derived. First occupied by the Common Council in 1703, the edifice was for a long time the most

magnificent in the city, and was frequently improved and embellished until the Revolutionary War. While in possession of the British it was occupied by the main guard, and, escaping the ravages of the enemy, remained entire, although much injured, until the evacuation in 1783. The Legislature of the State and the courts met here after the war. The city bell was here. A curious notice in *The New York Packet* of 1784 warned the inhabitants "not to be alarmed by the ringing of the court bell;" and informed them that "the said bell will be rung daily, at a quarter before ten o'clock in the forenoon, for the meeting of the Legislature," and other papers were requested to copy. It was renovated in 1784, and extensive additions made in the rear, for the use of the Congress, which had adjourned to New York from Philadelphia; in the spring of 1789 the first Congress under the new Constitution met in the new edifice, which took the name of Federal Hall; and here it was that on the 3d of April, 1789, George Washington was inaugurated the first President. The building was demolished in 1812.

The Exchange, at one time called the Royal Exchange, at the foot of Broad street, below the intersection of Dock (now Pearl street), was a building raised upon arches in the middle of the street. Built upon or near the site of a structure which had served as a market-house as well as meeting-place of merchants, from the beginning of the century, it was sometimes called the New Exchange. A subscription was made by the merchants, in 1752, for its erection, but it was assumed and finally completed by the city corporation. At times its lower arch-covered surface seems to have been inclosed. Above the arches was a large hall sixty feet by thirty, with walls fourteen feet high, arching to a height of twenty feet, surmounted by a cupola. It was provided with a stove, then a modern invention, and a clock. In 1754, the lower story was used as a coffee house, and the room above as a ball-room. The Chamber of Commerce hired and repaired it in 1769, and occupied it until their sessions were interrupted by the breaking out of hostilities in 1775. During the war it was used by the British as a market. When the City Hall was

undergoing repairs after the peace, the State Legislature and courts of justice held their sessions here. In 1795 it passed into the hands of the Tammany Society for use as a museum, and was so used under the direction of the eccentric Gardner Baker. In 1799, in consequence of numerous complaints, the city authorities ordered it to be taken down and removed. At the time of its erection, the streets in its neighborhood had been greatly improved, and the commerce of the city for a few years gathered about it, but it gradually lost its prestige from the nuisances which were allowed to accumulate about the water edge near by. Then, as now, the system of sewerage was a crying disgrace to the city, and the river banks had become intolerable nuisances. Comparing English and American cities with those of Continental Europe, the thought forces itself upon the mind that the Anglo-Saxon race, neat as it may be in personal habits, has no special "vocation" for public cleanliness.

At the south-west point of the island stood the Fort in a square with four bastions, facing the Bowling Green ; within it a building which was the residence of the colonial governors until destroyed by fire in December, 1773. The Fort itself was removed in 1790, to make way for the Government House erected for the use of the State Government. Below the Fort, on the water line, were fortifications of considerable extent. A stone battery was laid here by Governor Cosby, in 1735, and called after his son-in-law, the "George Augustus Royal Battery." Hence the name of the Battery, which was before and for many years after the war, in the summer season, a delightful promenade, cooled by the sea breeze, and presenting a bay view unparalleled in beauty and extent. It is not improbable that this charming spot may again become a favorite residence. The other public buildings were the new jail called the "Provost" during the war, and "The Bridewell," both in the fields now the City Park.

Of the three Episcopal churches founded under one royal charter in 1697, Old Trinity, the most stately edifice in America, had fallen a victim to the terrible fire which swept the city after the British entry in 1776. St. George's Chapel,

finished in 1750, stood in Beckman street. It was destroyed by fire in 1814, again rebuilt, and finally taken down in 1868. St. Paul's Chapel, on the corner of Broadway and Vesey street, completed in 1766, is the finest relic of colonial architecture, and for beauty of design is not excelled by any later structures. Its elegant and graceful spire was added in 1794.

There were three houses of worship belonging to the Presbyterians. The First Presbyterian, or Wall Street Church, a modest building of rough stone, stood at the upper end of Wall street, near Broadway. It was originally erected in 1719, enlarged in 1768, rebuilt in 1809, and finally removed in 1844, and reconstructed in Jersey City. The second or Brick Meeting-house, a branch of the Wall Street Church, was built, in 1768, on the Vineyard lot opposite the Common, rebuilt in 1797, and was demolished in consequence of the widening of Beckman street. The present New York Times building occupies its site. The last service was held here in May, 1856. This was for a long time, with the exception of a few small wooden houses, the only building on Chatham row. The third or Second Presbyterian church was built in 1768, in Little Queen (now Cedar street), between Nassau and Broadway. This congregation originated about the year 1756, in a separation of the Scottish members from the Wall Street Church, in consequence of changes in the form of worship and a difference of opinion as to psalmody. All these three churches were occupied by the British troops as hospitals and barracks, and were left behind them in ruins and dilapidation.

There were three Dutch Reformed churches. The Old South, or Garden Street Church, which stood in the present Exchange place, was built in 1693, rebuilt in 1766, again in 1807, and was destroyed by the great fire in 1835. The New or Middle Church, built in 1729, and remodelled in 1764, still remains. From its cupola one of the best views of the city and surrounding country was to be seen. It was here that Dr. Franklin made some of his experiments in electricity. Indeed the only steeples high enough to be seen to

advantage, after the destruction of Trinity, were those of this church and St. George's Chapel. During the occupation it was used by the British as a riding school for dragoons. Public worship ceased in it in 1844, when it was sold to the United States Government, the merchants of New York contributing to its purchase by subscription, for the use of the Post-Office Department. It has been this fall abandoned, and is now being demolished. The North Dutch Church was erected in 1769, on the corner of Fulton and William streets, remodelled in 1842, and has been this year taken down. It had become famous, in latter years, as the seat of the Fulton street prayer-meetings.

The Methodists erected a church in John street in 1768, which is still standing on the south side of the street, near Nassau. The Moravians began their worship in a small frame building which they put up in Fulton street, between William and Dutch streets, in 1751. The old house was taken down and rebuilt in 1829, and finally removed in 1843. The Baptists had their place of worship in Gold street, between Fulton and John streets, in a small building erected by them in 1760. It was rebuilt in 1802, and finally taken down in 1840. The Friends, who had occupied a modest structure in Little Green street (now Liberty place), a small street running from Maiden lane to Crown (now Liberty street), from the early part of the century, in 1775 built a second house of brick in Pearl street, between Franklin square and Oak street, which was taken down in 1824. In 1794 the old building was destroyed and a new one erected, fronting on Liberty street. This continued to be used as a meeting-house until 1826, when it passed into the hands of Mr. Grant Thorburn, who occupied it as a seed store for many years. The French congregation, L'Eglise du Saint Esprit (Church of the Holy Ghost), which had existed from an early day, in 1704 erected a building, which was long the oldest of the New York churches, in Pine street, fronting the rear of the present United States Sub-Treasury, with a burial ground running back as far as Cedar street. Here the descendants of the French Huguenots continued their worship, according to the tenets of the old faith, for 130 years. The

building was "low, grave and sombre, and its tower heavy and monastic." The Jewish house of worship was built in Mill street, about 1706. This was taken down, and the first Synagogue erected on the same site in 1729. This building, in turn, was rebuilt in 1818, and occupied till 1833, when the property was sold, and the congregation removed. The first Roman Catholic public worship was held at the Vaux Hall, at the foot of Warren street; this was the origin of St. Peter's Church in Barclay street, built in 1786. The corner-stone was laid by the Spanish ambassador, Don Diego de Gardoqui, and the building fund contributed to by both the Spanish and French official representatives. It was later rebuilt.

Education had not as yet been considered a matter for legislative interference. It was held, indeed, to be a matter with which the Government had no right to interfere, and was chiefly in the hands of the clergy. Early in the history of the Dutch colony teaching in Latin had been fostered by the Government. In 1710 the first free school was opened by Trinity Church, under the teaching of William Huddlestone. In 1754 King's College was established, and a year later the Dutch, tenacious of their old language, imported a school-master for instruction in the Dutch language. During the seven years of war these schools and the college were closed. The first to reopen was the Dutch, many months before the evacuation by the British. King's College (now Columbia) occupied the beautiful square, well remembered, bounded by Church, Chapel (now West Broadway), Murray and Mortlike (now Barclay street). This was an elegant stone structure three stories high, with a chapel, hall, library, museum, anatomical theatre, and school for experimental philosophy. The edifice was surrounded by a high fence, which also inclosed a large court and garden. The students resided in the building. The fire of 1776 burned all the houses west of Broadway up to this limit.

There were no public collections of art in the city before 1800; a few occasional portraits, but of a low order of merit. An example may be seen in the portrait of Lieut.-Gov. Cadwallader Colden, painted for the Chamber of Commerce by

Matthew Pratt, a picture 46×78 , for which the artist received £37.

In the year 1791, Mr. Archibald Robertson, an artist, organized "The Columbian Academy of Painting," but this was a private institution. In 1801, the American Academy of Fine Arts was organized under the advice of Robert R. Livingston, then Minister to France, with the active co-operation of Aaron Burr. It opened its rooms with numerous donations, prominent among which were several gifts from the Emperor Napoleon, and in 1808 was incorporated, with Edward Livingston as President. It ceased to exist in 1841, and its valuable collection is scattered.

The theatre was on the north side of John street, about half-way between Broadway and Nassau street. The building stood, as described by Mr. Duer, about sixty feet back from the street, and was entered by a covered way. It was opened on the 7th of December, 1767, by "The American Company," with Farquhar's comedy of the "Stratagem," and Garrick's farce or dramatic satire, "Lethe." A curious incident is connected with the history of the theatre at this period. Some Cherokee warriors arrived in the city from South Carolina with Capt. Schermerhorne, among whom were Attakullakulla, or the Little Carpenter; Ocounostola, or the Great Warrior; and the Raven King of Tougooloo, who expressed a desire to see the performance of the 14th, which was the play of Richard III., not the most appropriate entertainment, certainly, for the instruction of savage chiefs. Attakullakulla was a noted Cherokee chief. He had visited England and signed the treaty of peace at Westminster, in 1730. The general depression which resulted from the sullen but as yet peaceful struggle of the colonies with the home Government, brought theatrical exhibitions to a close, and no entertainments were given after Aug. 2, 1773. On the 24th of December, 1774, the Provincial Congress passed a resolution recommending the suspension of all public amusements, and no further performances were given. When the British held the city, amateurs reopened the John Street Theatre under the name of "Theatre Royal," and plays were given from January, 1777, to June,

1781, the receipts being for the benefit of the poor of the city. It was here that the accomplished and unfortunate Major André distinguished himself both as an actor and scene painter. After the peace, in spite of strong public sentiment, which took shape in articles in the newspapers and speeches in the Legislature, the theatre was reopened on the 24th of August, 1785, with a prologue and pantomime, which continued until Oct. 14 of the same year. The legitimate drama was not resumed till the 21st of November, 1785. The last performance in the John Street Theatre was "Wives As They Were and Maids As They Are," on the 12th of January, 1798. The New, or Park Theatre, which stood in Park row, near Ann street, was opened on the 29th of January of the same year.

The principal tavern was the City Arms, a large house on the west side of Broadway, at the corner of Stone, now Thames street. This famous house was a part of the Delancey estate, and until 1754 was the residence of James De Lancey, the Lieutenant-Governor of the colony. On the 15th April of that year it was opened as a tavern by Edward Willet, a noted host, under the name of the Province Arms. In the newspapers of the day it is sometimes called the New York Arms, the York Arms, the City Arms, or, as was often the case, by the name of the proprietor. Willet's opening notice describes the house "as not only the best accommodated with stables and all things necessary to the entertainment of travellers, but the best situated of any house in that business in this city, being nearest the centre; and in a direct line with the eastern road, and very handy for both the North River, Staten Island, and Long Island Ferries." The New York tavern-keepers were in the colonial days an itinerant class, and moved from house to house with the regularity of lawyers on a circuit. Crawley, Burns, Bolton, and Hull all kept it in turn. It was here, while in the keeping of Burns, that the famous non-importation agreement was signed the 31st October, 1765, by the merchants of the city. Burns succeeded Crawley in 1763. John Adams, delegate to the first Continental Congress, stopped here on his way to Philadelphia in 1774. During the earlier part of the war it was kept

by Hicks, who seems to have been displaced in an arbitrary manner in 1781, to make way for Roubalé. It was a favorite resort of the military, on account of its proximity to the fashionable promenade. On its piazzas and balconies were "coigns of vantage" for the review of the loyalist belles "walking down Broadway." Later it passed into the hands of John Cape, and was called the "State Arms of New York" (No. 18 Broadway), in his advertisements of May 31, 1784. The house was provided with a large ball-room, where concerts were given and dancing assemblies held. These assemblies were subscription balls under the direction of managers. They were renewed immediately after the war. The first was held on the evening of Thursday, the 18th of December, 1783, at 6 o'clock. Rivington, the editor of the newspaper which advertised this ball, announced in the same paper that he had "for sale a supply of white dancing gloves for gentlemen, silk stockings, dress-swords, and elegant London cocked hats." As he was a loyalist, this was probably the stock of the outgoing officers of the British army. Cape does not appear to have met with success in his venture. In 1786 Joseph Corre, a Frenchman by birth, took the house, and in 1788 he, in turn, made way for the veteran Edward Barden, who had returned to the city from Jamaica, Long Island, where he kept the inn opposite the Episcopal Church. Broadway was already the favorite street, and the old tavern became the chosen spot for the meetings of societies and great public entertainments, and acquired a popularity which it uninterruptedly maintained for a long period. In 1793 the old building, which was still owned by the De Lancey family, was taken down, and the Tontine City Tavern or City Hotel, erected by a company who organized for its purchase on the Tontine plan. The City Hotel has been taken down within our recollection.

There was another tavern largely patronized by the officers of the British army and navy, on Brownejohn's Wharf, at the Fly Market, as it was called. This was kept by James Strachan until 1781, when he changed his quarters. Not far distant, in Water street, Ephraim Smith kept a house known

by his name—Smith's Tavern. He had previously kept a tavern under the same sign in Philadelphia. The Bull's Head was in the Bowery lane. But of all, the most famous for its historic associations was the house on the south-east corner of Broad and Dock (now Pearl street), which is still standing. It was built in the early part of the last century, by the De Lancey family, on land conveyed by Col. Stephanus Van Cortlandt to Estienne de Lancey, his son-in-law, in 1700. It was for some time occupied as a residence by Col. Joseph Robinson ; then by Delancey, Robinson & Co. as a store, and later passed by sale into the hands of Sam Fraunces, the most noted publican of the day (later the steward of General Washington's household), who here opened a tavern in 1762, under the sign of Queen Charlotte. This was in honor of the charming and popular queen of George III., who had already, although only in her eighteenth year, earned the name of "The Good Queen Charlotte." A record of the interesting incidents connected with this old house would fill a volume. The Chamber of Commerce organized here in 1768 ; the clubs and societies often met at its hospitable board. This was the building which was struck by the shot upon the city by the "Asia" man-of-war, but it is most dear to the heart of the patriot as the spot where, at a dinner given to him on the 4th of December, 1783, Gen. Washington bade a touching and affectionate farewell to his officers. Before the war it was known as the Queen's Head ; later, as Fraunces's Tavern. It is now kept as a lodging-house by W. Stübner, under the sign of Washington's Headquarters, in memory of the incident related.

On the new road, a continuation of Broadway, there were several mead-houses and tea-gardens, and opposite the Park, where Peale's Museum stood later, was the celebrated garden and public house of de la Montagne, where the Liberty Boys had their rendezvous. The Liberty Pole was near by. The Vauxhall was a large garden at the foot of Warren street, extending as far as Chambers street, overlooking the Hudson, and commanding a beautiful view. This had been the residence of Major James of Stamp Act memory,

and had later passed into the hands of the enterprising Fraunces.

Besides these, there were billiard tables at de la Montagne's, in the fields, and near by Walker's Fives Alley, about the corner of Murray street, where Sir Henry Clinton was wont to play with his officers. There was also a Fives alley in John street, near the theatre. In summer the ladies visited the tea-gardens, but then, as now, the men at times preferred to enjoy themselves without the restraining influence of the fair sex.

Before the war, coffee-houses, kept on the English plan, were places of great resort. A notice of a Coffee-House appears on the Assembly Journal of 1705, and occasional mentions of it occur until 1737, when the Exchange Coffee-House is noticed in an advertisement in Bradford's Gazette. A few years later (1744) one appears of "The Merchants' Coffee-House," which stood on the south-east corner of Wall and Water streets, on the site later occupied by The Journal of Commerce. Coffee-House slip and Coffee-House bridge, which occupied the centre of Wall street, running from Queen (now Pearl) to Water street, derived their names from their proximity to this Coffee-House. The Bridge was the place where the "vendues," as auctions were then called, were held. A notice in Parker's Post Boy of August 27, 1744, shows that this was the favorite resort of captains. It was for a long time kept by a Madame Ferrari, until a new building was erected on the opposite cross corner, when she removed to the new house. John Adams, recording his walk about the city in 1774, mentions a visit to the coffee-house, which he found full of gentlemen, and his reading of the newspapers there; but for some cause coffee-houses gradually declined toward the close of the colonial period, probably because of the depression in trade and general want of ease in the fortunes of the population, as the next year a long article appeared in Holt's New York Journal calling on the inhabitants to support these useful institutions, and complaining that those who did take advantage of their many conveniences, did not, as was the custom in England, do their part to the support of the

house by ordering a cup of coffee, a glass of wine, etc. Cornelius Bradford opened the Merchants' Coffee-House after repairs in May, 1776, but his stay was of short duration. A warm patriot, he went out with the American army on its retreat, and remained near Rhinebeck during the war. It then passed into the hands of a Mrs. Smith, probably the person who kept the building next door, where the Insurance Office was. Later, James Strachan moved from the tavern on Brownejohn's wharf, and tried his fortune here, but without success, as appears from a piteous appeal to his debtors, March, 1783. In October of the same year, Cornelius Bradford returned, and the Merchants' Coffee-House under his admirable management became a noted resort. He established in 1784 the first Marine List ever publicly kept in New York, from which the newspaper notices were daily taken. He also opened a register where "gentlemen and merchants" were requested to enter their names and residences. This was the first approach to a city directory. The first directory was published by David Franks, in 1786, and contained the names and addresses of 933 persons. Trow's City Directory for 1875 contains 233,971 names. It must be observed, however, that the first of Franks was very incomplete. The Chamber of Commerce and the Marine Society entertained Congress at the Merchants' Coffee-House in February, 1784. Bradford died the next year, but the house remained in the keeping of his widow for some years, until the building of the famous Tontine Coffee-House, on the northwest corner of Wall and Water streets (the opposite cross angle), when the widow withdrew. The Merchants' Coffee-House was destroyed in the great fire of 1804, and rebuilt as the Phoenix Coffee-House the next year. The Tontine was projected on the 30th of March, 1791, by an assemblage of gentlemen who met at the Coffee-House, with John Broome, at that time President of the Chamber of Commerce, as chairman. The corner-stone was laid with ceremony on the 5th of June, 1792, and the building formally opened by a great public dinner, at which 120 gentlemen sat down, the 5th of June, the following year (1793). The Tontine became celebrated

under the management of John Hyde, its first host. A letter on emigration, published in London by a “gentleman lately returned from America,” recommends the house as having “as elegant accommodations as any in London,” and as considered to be the best in the United States. He states the cost of living in a handsome apartment at £70 to £80 per annum, wine and porter excepted, and speaks of it as frequented by all genteel strangers and the superior gentlemen of the town. Hyde died of the yellow fever in 1805. During the war a Mrs. Treville kept the London Coffee-House at the Exchange.

Of the two private houses of note, the chief was the Kennedy Mansion, at No. 1 Broadway, built for Capt. Archibald Kennedy of the British Navy, who had married a daughter of the wealthy colonial family of Watts. This house was the headquarters of Gen. Putnam in 1776, and afterward of the British commanders. The other famous dwelling was the Walton House, an edifice of Holland brick, 50 feet front, and three stories high, still standing, though shorn of its architectural ornaments, and known as No. 324 Pearl street. This old house was illuminated for the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766.

Of the four sugar-houses three were in the hands of persons of Dutch descent, by whom this lucrative business was then as now almost monopolized. The old sugar-house in Crown street (now Liberty street, near the Dutch church), built by the Livingstons, is best known as the British prison during the Revolution. That built by Henry Cuyler, Jr., for his heir, Barent Rynders Cuyler, in 1769, is still standing, a massive structure on the corner of Rose and Duane streets. It later passed into the hands of the Rhinelanders, who continued the same business. The Van Cortland sugar-house was on the north-west corner of Trinity churchyard. The Roosevelts also had a sugar-house, in Skinners street, near the Walton House. The Bayard sugar-house, which stood in Wall street, close to the old City Hall, from 1729, had been in 1773 turned into a tobacco manufactory. The Bayards introduced what they termed the “mystery of sugar refining” in New York.

Water was supplied to the inhabitants from the Tea Water Pump. Kalm, in his account of New York in 1748, says: "There is no good water to be met with in the town itself, but at a little distance there is a large spring of good water which the inhabitants take for their *tea* and the uses of their kitchen :" hence the name which the spring and pump long retained. The Tea Waterworks, as they were called, stood in the Out Ward, on a lot 75 by 120, which made, in 1784, part of the estate of Gerardus Hardenbrook. This lot fronted on the Bowery road, at what was then the head of Queen (now Pearl street), now the west side of Chatham, nearly opposite Roosevelt street. It was said to receive its supply of water from never-failing springs, but in reality drew it from a pond not far distant, known as the Collect Pond or Fresh Water, which lay where the present Tombs building stands in Centre street. This pond had an outlet on the North river, through what was called the Canal, over which a stone bridge was erected on the line of Broadway, and another on that to the East river. The Collect was unfortunately filled up by the authorities of the city instead of being enlarged and made a water communication between the two rivers, a plan at one time proposed, which would have afforded excellent basin accommodation for river transports, and a safe winter harbor. Nature seems to have indicated this in her original design. The water still runs through the Canal street sewer. The well which supplied the famous Tea Water Pump was about twenty feet deep and four feet in diameter, and supplied an average daily drawing of from 14,000 to 15,000 gallons. In summer sometimes as many as 28,000 gallons were taken, yet the depth of water never fell below three feet. The water was sold at the pump at three pence the hogshead. In 1796 there was a rumor that the supply of water was failing, but it was immediately contradicted by the proprietor. At this time the water was sold at the pump at four cents the hogshead of 140 gallons. The water was carted through the streets and retailed from door to door. Two years later its reputation became bad, the Collect was reported as being "a shocking hole, where all impure things

centre together." An article in *The Daily Advertiser* of September 6th, 1798, urged the citizens, "every man for himself, to leave no stone unturned to provide aqueducts."

As early as 1774 Christopher Colles, with his usual sagacity, had proposed to erect a reservoir and to convey water through the several streets, and with the aid of the corporation erected a steam pumping engine near the Collect, but the war caused an abandonment of this plan. This enterprise was completed in March, 1776. The newspapers describe the engine as carrying a pump eleven inches in diameter and six feet stroke, which lifted 417,600 gallons daily. There is a curious notice of these works in the journal of Dr. Isaac Bangs of the New England troops, who was quartered in the city in 1776. He describes the works as consisting of a reservoir on the top of a hill, from which wooden pipes distributed it through the city (the reservoir a quarter of an acre in extent). His astonishment was excited by the working of the machine which lifted the water through a wooden tube. With his native curiosity, however, he mastered the problem and gives a lucid description of the steam-engine. In 1799 the Manhattan Company was chartered to supply the city with water, and the Bronx river was proposed as the source of supply. A pump was built near the Collect and wooden pipes laid through the streets, and the inhabitants served with water for a long period. It was not until the completion, in 1842, of the Croton Aqueduct, that colossal and beneficent monument of New York enterprise, that there was assured to the population a never-failing supply of pure water, the first condition of prosperity and health, an enterprise so eloquently and prophetically described by the late John Romeyn Brodhead at the fortieth anniversary of this Society in 1844—"the stern and majestic ruins that frown over the desolate Campagna are not more impressive monuments to the Emperor Claudius than will the aqueduct of New York be an enduring memorial of the far-reaching philanthropy of those who projected and advocated this noble work."

Even before the Revolution the city provided itself with the purely American luxury, ice, the use of which is only at

this late day becoming general in Europe by the example of American travellers. There were several ice-houses, all of which took their supply from the fresh water. The principal of these buildings was situated on the North River, near Trinity Churchyard.

The principal market was the Fly Market, so called from Vly, or valley, its site having been originally a salt meadow. It stood at the foot of Maiden lane, and was supplied, as New York has always been, with an endless variety of fish and shell-fish of the most delicious kind, and with meat, poultry and fruit—the latter in abundant profusion. The other markets of importance were the Bear Market, now Washington, on the west side of the city, between Greenwich street and the Hudson; the Oswego Market, which was built on the site of the old Broadway, in 1771, and stood in Maiden lane, between Broadway and Nassau street, until removed as a nuisance in 1810, when its stalls were transferred to the Bear Market. There was also a market at Peck slip, built in 1763, occupied as a storehouse by the British, again restored after the war, deserted when Catharine Market was built, in 1786, and finally removed in 1792. Still another was opened at the foot of Broad street, at the Exchange, on the petition of the inhabitants during the war, there being no other convenient to the population in this locality.

Besides the Trinity Church Cemetery, which was the city burying ground from an early period, and the graveyards attached to the churches, there was a Jewish cemetery at the corner of Oliver and Chatham streets, and a negro burying-ground on the spot immediately north of the common now occupied by A. T. Stewart's dry-goods store.

Bradford's New York Gazette and Zenger's New York Weekly Journal, the one the organ of the Colonial Government, and the other of the Opposition party, make frequent mention of a club named the Hunc Over De, which met at the houses of four gentlemen, where lively discussions seem to have taken place. A letter of one Andrew Merrill to Zenger says, that "the members were merry enough; but they had like to have demolished the ladies' tea-table at whose

house the club was. They had not much party till supper came, and then they were as warm as scollopt oysters." Politics ran high at this time, 1735-1736, when Colonel Lewis Morris, afterward Governor of New Jersey, and James De Lancey, later Lieutenant-Governor of New York, were struggling for the control of the province of New York.

A Whig Club was formed in 1752, which met once each week at the King's Arms Tavern. Of this William Livingston, William Smith and John Morin Scott, the Presbyterian leaders, were members, and as they were not of the order of men who consent to take secondary places, no doubt the founders. The King's Arms Tavern was at this time in Broad street, opposite to the Royal Exchange, and kept by George Burns.

Before the war the Social Club met every Saturday evening in winter at Sam Fraunces' Tavern, and enjoyed themselves after the usual manner. In summer the members met at Kip's Bay, where they built a neat and comfortable house. It was at this point the British landed, September 15, 1776. The club dispersed at the time of the war, and never reassembled. An account of the club and a list of its members were found among the papers of Mr. John Moore, and presented to the New York Historical Society by his son, T. W. C. Moore. Among its members were John Jay, Gouverneur Morris, Robert R. Livingston, Egbert Benson, Gulian C. Verplanck, Morgan Lewis, the Ludlows, Watts, Lispenards, Bards and others. The lawyers had a club which they called the Moot, organized in 1770, where disputed points of law were formally debated. Such veteran lawyers as William Smith, John Morin Scott, Richard Morris, and among the younger, Samuel Jones, John Jay, R. R. Livingston, James Duane, Gouverneur Morris, and Peter Van Schaack, need only be named to show the character of the society. The Moot was held at Barden's Tavern, on the evening of the first Friday in every month. Barden's Tavern was in 1770 at the corner of Murray and Broadway.

After the war the Belvedere was organized by thirty-three gentlemen, and a building erected on the corner of Cherry and

Montgomery streets, in the year 1792. The club building comprised a ball-room with a music gallery, bar-rooms, and bedrooms, and had a large balcony from which there was a beautiful view of the East River and Long Island. Attached to the house were bowling-alleys, coach-houses, a green, with gravel walks and shrubbery, elegantly laid out and cared for. This was a celebrated club, and included such members as Babcock, Constable, Fish, McEvers, Kemble, Ludlow, Seton, Hoffman and Van Horne—all leaders of fashion and the beaux of the day. They met on Saturday nights, also evenings specially set apart for social gatherings, and the strangers in the city were generally invited guests. The Sub-Rosa was another club of thirty gentlemen, who met on Saturday evenings at a tavern kept by Rebecca Gere, at Corlears Hook. This dame bore the sobriquet in the club of “Our Hostess of the Garter.” This club, organized in 1794, was essentially a dining club; no cards were allowed by the articles until two hours after dinner, and no discussions during or after dinner. Such men as Robert Lenox, Thomas Roach, Buchanan, Bayard, Winthrop, Henry Cruger, Walton, Gouverneur, Sherbrooke, and Laight composed this solid band of good livers. The minutes of their proceedings show that the proposal of an unfortunate member, that the bill of fare consist of cold beef or lamb, was voted down by the conclusive majority of eleven to three.

New York had always been celebrated for the elegance of its life. When, in Parliament, the poverty and exhaustion of the colonies after the French war was given as a reason why they should not be taxed, the “plea was rebutted by an appeal to the elegant entertainments given by the city of New York to the officers of the British army, and the dazzling display of silver plate at their dinners, equal, if not superior, to any nobleman’s.” John Adams, in his diary, constantly refers in terms of wonder to the luxury of life in the city, to the plate, the damask, and the choice luxury of the food. Even the butter did not escape his notice and his praise. He complains, however, that the gentlemen did not wait for him to finish his sentences before interrupting him

with their remarks. The New Yorkers were then, as now, a mercurial people, a quality they derived from the large intermixture of foreign element in their blood, and perhaps John Adams was himself a little prosy and pompous. New England has always been declamatory.

Of the numerous foreign National Societies now in existence, only one was incorporated in the Colonial period, that of St. Andrew, which was instituted on the 19th November, 1756, as a society for charitable purposes, with Philip Livingston as president. The English, Welsh, and Irish born residents were in the habit of meeting at Sam Fraunces', Bolton's, Barden's, or Burns's Taverns, on their Saints' days of St. George, St. David, St. Patrick, and contributions were then made for the poor of their nationality. The St. George's Society was established in 1786; the St. Patrick's later.

The St. Tammany Society, or Independent Order of Liberty, was first organized in 1789. It announced itself as "a National Society, consists of Americans born who fill all offices, and adopted Americans who are eligible to the honorary posts of warrior and hunter. It is founded on the true principles of patriotism, and has for its motives charity and brotherly love." In 1792 its members formed a Tontine association, under the name of the New York Tammanial Tontine Association, to expire in May, 1820, whose primary object was stated to be "the building of a hall, with a view to accommodate the Tammany Society;" but so far as a building was concerned the plan does not appear to have been successful. The Society was incorporated under the name of the "Society of Tammany, or Columbian Order," on the 9th April, 1805, for the purpose of affording relief to the indigent and distressed." It is needless to state how widely its practices have diverged from its original purpose, unless upon the principle that charity begins at home.

The Black Friars was a society established for social, charitable, and humane purposes, on the 10th November, 1784.

The Society of the Cincinnati was organized at the Cantonment of the American Army on Hudson River, May 10th, 1783, by the officers of the Army of the Revolution, as a

Society of Friends, with a provision that its future membership should be limited to their male posterity. The New York branch organized the 5th July following, at New Windsor; their annual meetings are always held in the city.

Besides these societies may be mentioned the Society for the Manumission of Slaves, and protecting such of them as have been or may be liberated, organized in February, 1785, with John Jay as president and John Keese as secretary. Their articles of association were published in Loudon's New York Packet of 21st February, 1785. The General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen was originally designed in 1784, and appeared before the Legislature in application for a charter in the following year, failing which it was formally instituted on the 4th August, 1785. It obtained an act of incorporation March 14, 1792, which was renewed in 1810. This Society built the well known Mechanics' Hall, corner of Park place and Broadway, and is still in existence. A Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge was formed, of which George Clinton was President. This was a revival of the old New York Society, which was formed before the war for similar purposes. They met on the 13th July, 1785, at Cape's Tavern.

The first directory of 1786 makes mention also of a Gold and Silver Smiths' Society in existence in 1786, and of a Society of Peruke Makers and Hair Dressers, which met at Mr. Ketchum's, No. 22 Ann street, the same year. Hair-dressing, when perukes and queues were in fashion, was a business of importance.

The physical, popular, and social features of New York, at the close of the colonial period, and during the war, have been presented. It only remains to give some account of the commerce of the city, to establish a basis for the comparison of New York as it was in 1776 with the New York of to-day.

The preparation of flour for export had always been a chief industry of the city and colony. An old document in the English records of 1698 speaks of "grain as the staple commoditie of the Province of New York," and adds that "the citizens had no sooner perceived that there were greater

quantities of wheat raised than could be consumed within the said Province but they *contrived and invented the art of bolting*, by which they converted the wheat into flour, and made it a manufacture, not only profitable to all the inhabitants of this Province, by the encouragement of tillage and navigation, but likewise beneficial and commodious to all the plantations, and the improvement thereof is the true and only cause of the growth, strength and increase of buildings within the same, and of the riches, plenty of money, and rise of the value of lands in the other parts of the Province, and the livelihood of all the inhabitants of this city did chiefly depend thereon." The Minutes of the Common Council of 1692 record that the Supreme Court were of the opinion that the City of New York had the charter or privilege of bolting or packing flour. Gov. Andros prohibited the transportation of wheat "that the same might be improved by the inhabitants of this city in bolting it into flour, and to bake 'bisketts' for transportation." Of this privilege New York was deprived by Act of Assembly in 1694. The writer complains that the City of New York, which had been called the granary of America, where never less than 40,000 or 50,000 bushels of wheat were in store, suffered greatly in consequence of this legislation, and the supply fell off to scarce 1,000 bushels, insufficient for the supply of the inhabitants. The sketch closes with the remarkable statement that of the 983 houses then in New York, 600 depended upon "bolting;" while in the three counties of Kings, Queens, and Ulster, there were not over 30 "bolters." Notwithstanding the careful attention paid by the Assembly of the Colony to the inspection of flour, as its minutes abundantly show, and in fact compulsory inspection was not abolished until 1843 (April 18), both Pennsylvania and Maryland had excelled New York in this product, and the superfine flour of their manufacture commanded higher prices than that of New York. In 1768 New York exported 80,000 barrels of flour to the West Indies, and received in return rum, sugar, and molasses. Provisions also were exported to the Spanish Main, wheat, flour, Indian corn, and timber to Lisbon and Madeira—and before the Revolution

the manufacture of pot and pearl ashes had become an important industry. There was also a considerable export of flaxseed to Ireland, in return for which linens were received. In addition to these there had been from the earliest history of the Colony a large and profitable trade in peltry. All Northern and Western New York was a fur-yielding country, and thousands of hunters traversed the great interior in pursuit of skins.

The old seal of the Province itself gives evidence of the importance of the two great interests of the Colony, the beaver and flour-barrel being both borne upon the arms. The beaver figured upon the seal of New Amsterdam from 1654; the flour-barrel was added after the English conquest in 1686. The fur trade had declined after the capture of the Canadas, but was again to revive with the new-born sympathy of the Canadians, French, and Indian half-breeds for the Americans. Already young Astor, who arrived here in 1784, was traversing the wilderness and organizing the vast trade which was the foundation of the colossal fortune which attracted universal notice a few days since as it passed, quintupled in magnitude, to a second generation, a fortune in itself the most remarkable witness of the growth of the city which alone has swelled it to its enormous magnitude.

With the close of the war with France and Spain, in 1763, began the period of greatest commercial activity in the Colonies. In May of that year the lighthouse at Sandy Hook was lighted for the first time. The lucrative business of privateering, in which New York largely indulged whenever there was an occasion, and to which the rich galleons of Spain, heavy with the freight of the Indies, contributed many a prize, had of course fallen with the general peace.

In the year 1773, the importations by New York from England reached the sum of £531,000, and her exports £529,000, the chief export business being, as has been shown, with the West Indies. In the year ended January 5, 1776, the customs books report among other exports from New York in 705 vessels, 104,357 barrels flour and 19,033 tierces and barrels bread, 700,689 bushels wheat, 66,045 Indian corn,

111,845 flaxseed, 99,949 casks of beef and pork, 3,057 casks of butter.

Such were the conditions under which New York began her new career. It will not be possible to measure the gigantic strides of her progress in every walk of life through the century, or give more than a faint sketch of the innumerable details which fill its history. In the preceding endeavor has been made to present New York as it was in 1776, and to show the changes caused by the war in its physical appearance. The returning patriots who left the city on the entrance of the British troops found it on their departure not only deserted, but, as Dunlap describes it, a mass of "black unsightly rubbish."

The population of the city at this period (1783) cannot be accurately ascertained. A great change was then occurring with the outgoing of the loyalists and the incoming of the patriot population, and the arrival of large numbers of new settlers who, attracted by the natural advantages of New York, proposed to make it their home; among these many New Englanders, whose energy and enterprise contributed largely to its growth and prosperity. In 1768 the city was estimated by Noah Webster, a competent authority, to contain 3,340 dwelling-houses and a population of 23,614 souls. This little city was then the second in importance of the Western Continent—Philadelphia, the first, had at this period 40,000—Boston, owing to her inferior situation and climate, had been already outrun by her more fortunate rivals, and her population did not exceed 15,000. Baltimore followed with 14,000, and Charleston, which at one time had ambition equal to any of her sisters, 10,000. New York had already begun to feel within her broad loins the throes of empire, and was looking forward to her magnificent destiny. Already it commanded the trade of the larger part of New Jersey, of Connecticut, and part of Massachusetts, besides the vast interior country to which its imperial river gave it access, and the eye of enterprise was measuring the distances from sea and river to the interior lakes, over which connections might be made, to lock the whole in one grand system of internal com-

munication which should open an avenue for the commerce of a continent. The road to the Canadian provinces and the great North-West was up the banks of the Hudson, and at its mouth lay the matchless land-locked harbor, safe anchorage for fleets of untold magnitude. The mission of New York was commerce, and she early understood it. Philadelphia had at this period outstripped her sister cities in manufacturing of all kinds, and New York seems never to have undertaken any serious rivalry in this branch of industry. She recognized that commerce was her vocation.

During the colonial period New York had always been extremely careful of her credit, and her issues of paper money were never in excess of the absolute demands of trade. The first issue was made in 1710, but no such bills were made a legal tender after 1737. Later, when a new issue was consented to by Lieut.-Gov. Colden, in 1770, they were only made a tender at the Loan Offices and Treasury, a well-regulated sinking fund prevented depreciation, and New York bills were at par all over the country, and equal to silver.

For some time after the war the currency was expressed in pounds sterling. Hamilton, in his famous report to Congress, January 28, 1791, on the establishment of a mint, says: "The pound, though of various value, is the unit of the money account of all the States. But it is not equally easy to pronounce what is to be considered as the unit in the coins, there being no formal regulation on this point." "But," he continues, "the manner of adjusting foreign exchanges would seem to indicate the dollar as best entitled to that character." Before the Revolution, the debasement of coin by clipping and washing had become a general and annoying evil. As all the coins were foreign, and the Lyon dollar, introduced by the Dutch, was the only legal tender of coin in the Colony, the Provincial authorities had been powerless to remedy the evil; the Lyon dollar, the value of which was fixed as early as 1720 as "seventeen pennyweight for fifteen pennyweight of Sevil pillar or Mexican plate," having almost disappeared. The proclamation of the King,

June 24, 1774, had directed the breaking up of all British coins which should reach the Treasury deficient in weight; but this rather increased than abated the evil in the Colonies. The dollar was, therefore, only a money of account, and—like the marc banco of Hamburg—a fictitious symbol of value by which all others were measured.

After the adoption of the State Constitution in 1777, but two laws were passed making bills of credit. The first, March 27, 1781, was for \$411,250 to pay the proportion called for by Congress toward the expenses of the war. The bills of the Provincial Congress as well as the Continental bills were made a legal tender. The only other law passed making bills of credit was one of April 18, 1786, for £200,000, which provided that they be received in all payments to the State Treasury, and limited their circulation to the year 1800. On the 30th of March, 1780, an act was passed fixing the rates at which the Continental issues should be taken. By the act it was declared that \$146 of Continental issue of June 1, 1778, was the equivalent of \$100; \$679 of the issue of Jan. 1, 1779; \$2,932 of the issue of Jan. 1, 1780, and \$4,000 of that of March 16, 1780, showing a depreciation in the value of the last issues to two and one half per centum of the face of the bill. In 1781 an act was passed repealing all laws making bills of credit a legal tender, and four years later all such bills in the Treasury were destroyed. Such were the sound principles upon which this mercantile community began its career.

During the Colonial period there was no such institution known as an incorporated bank. The Bank of North America, the first of this nature in the United States, originated in the efforts of the merchants and citizens of Philadelphia to supply the wants of the army in 1780, and the honor of its conception was due to the distinguished financier and patriot, Robert Morris. The bank was incorporated by an ordinance of Congress Dec. 24, 1781, and by act of the Legislature of Pennsylvania April 1, 1782. On the 10th of the same month the Legislature of New York, then sitting at Poughkeepsie, passed an act to prevent the establishment of

any bank within this State, other than the Bank of North America, during the war. The importance of a local institution became evident soon after the peace. On the 12th of February, 1784, a plan of a bank appeared in The New York Packet, and on the 28th a notice was issued in the same journal "inviting all gentlemen disposed to establish a bank on liberal principles, the stock to consist of specie only, to meet at the Merchants' Coffee-House the next evening." Every effort was made to attract subscribers by notices in the newspapers, public placards on the street corners and personal application. The capital proposed to be raised was \$500,000. When about one-third of that sum (\$150,000) had been taken, it was resolved to commence operations. On Monday, the 15th of March, 1784, the Bank of New York was organized, with Alexander McDougall as President and William Seton as Cashier. An application for a charter was refused by the Legislature, and the bank did not become a corporate body until the 21st of March, 1791, with a capital of \$1,000,000. This was the only bank in New York before 1800. The Manhattan Company, originally organized in 1799, to supply the city with water, only availed itself of its banking privileges at a later period. The next, the Merchants' Bank, commenced operations without a charter in 1804. In 1815, Mr. Isaac Bronson, in a pamphlet entitled "An Appeal to the Public," stated the active capital of the banks of the city to be \$13,515,000. On the 31st of December, 1874, there were 59 banks, with a capital of \$85,166,100, deposits of \$165,918,700, and a circulation of \$24,977,300. The transactions of the Clearing-house, in which the banks are associated, for the year 1874 reached the enormous sum of \$2,226,832,247.89.

This is not the occasion for a history of banking in this city or a eulogy of the banking laws of this State under which this difficult business was carried on for so many years with safety and success. Nor is there room for an account of its vicissitudes and trials. In all financial disasters the banks of this city have borne themselves with credit and courage. Whatever opinions may be entertained of the wisdom of their

policy, on occasions of grave emergency, it cannot be denied that they have always kept in view the best interests not only of their stockholders, but of the community at large. By common consent the financial centre of the country, New York has always led the way to resumption when suspension of specie payment became inevitable. Such was the case in 1817, in 1839, in 1857. In 1861 the scheme was here devised which associated the banks of the four great commercial cities in support of the Government, and enabled them to make to it the colossal loan of \$150,000,000 in coin. It may be truly said of the New York banks that they spared no effort to keep the country on a specie basis and to avert the calamities which have fallen upon it from excessive issues of paper money—a dark disaster to which the well-worn quotation may be applied with perfect fitness—“*Facilis est descensus Averni, sed revocare gradum, hic labor, hoc opus est.*”

The first savings bank was the Bank for Savings of the City of New York, incorporated on the 26th of March, 1819. Its plan was devised in the rooms of this Society by John Pintard, to whose sagacity New York owes so many of its most useful and thriving institutions, and Thomas Eddy. The deposits from the 3d of July to the 27th of December (1819) reached the sum of \$153,378 from 1,527 depositors. On the 31st of December, 1874, there were 44 savings banks in this city, holding \$180,010,703 from 494,086 depositors.

Insurance companies, or associations of individuals for the purpose of insurance under the management of a chosen board of officers, are of comparatively modern growth. The old fashion was different. Then any persons inclined to underwrite risks made their undertaking at some public place where the policies upon which insurance was desired were shown, and kept books of their own in which their liabilities upon such policies were entered. In the middle of last century the “Old Insurance Office,” as it was called in 1759, was kept at the Coffee-House, where the clerks of the office, Keteltas and Sharpe, attended every day from 12 till 1 in the day, and 6 to 8 in the evening. A rival office, the New York Insurance Office, with Anthony Van Dam for

clerk, was established the same year, and a permanent office taken next door to the Coffee-House. This was the office patronized by the Waltons, Crugers, Jaunceys, and other city capitalists. In 1778, when the destruction of vessels and convoys by the adventurous American privateers had greatly enhanced the risk of navigation, "the New Insurance Office" was opened at the Coffee-House. The mode in which this business was done is shown by an announcement of Cunningham & Wardrop, "Insurance Brokers," who advertised in 1779 that they had opened a "Public Insurance Office," where policies are received and offered to the merchants and underwriters generally. Each underwriter subscribed his name for the sum he engaged. An interesting hand-book of the insurances of William Walton, in sums varying from £400 to £50, is still preserved. All these offices were for marine insurance. The first marine insurance company organized after the war was the United Insurance Company, founded in 1795, or early in 1796, and chartered March 20, 1798, with a capital of \$500,000. The charter allowed fire as well as marine risks. The second was the New York Insurance Company, founded in 1796, and incorporated April 2, 1798, with a capital of \$500,000. The first company which confined itself wholly to sea risks was the Marine Insurance Company, which commenced business Nov. 19, 1801, with a capital of \$250,000. To-day there are nine marine insurance companies, with assets reported Dec. 31, 1874, at \$25,035,785.62.

The first proposal for insurance against fire seems to have been a motion made in the Chamber of Commerce by Mr. John Thurman on the 3d of April, 1770, that "as it is the desire of a number of the inhabitants of this city to have their estates insured from loss by fire, and that losses of this sort may not fall upon individuals, the Chamber take into consideration some plan that may serve so good a purpose." The consideration of the subject was postponed, and no action taken. On Feb. 16, 1874, a notice appeared in The New York Packet: "Some gentlemen have now in contemplation to form a company for insuring houses in this city against fire.

Such houses as are insured will be of course received as security in the bank ; " and a further attempt was made by Mr. John Delafield in April, 1785, to establish a " fire insurance office," but they do not seem to have been successful. The first fire insurance company was organized by John Pintard (who became its secretary), June 15, 1787, under the name of the Mutual Assurance Company. An act of incorporation was obtained March 28, 1809. To-day there are 74 fire insurance companies in the city, with assets reported Dec. 31, 1874, at \$44,696,827.

The first notice of a life insurance company appears in an act of incorporation of the Mechanics' Life Insurance and Coal Company on the 28th of February, 1822, " with power to make insurance upon lives or in any way depending upon lives, to grant annuities, and to open, find out, discover, and work coal-beds within this State."

To-day there are in the city 21 life insurance companies, with assets reported, December 31, 1874, at \$191,683,513. These companies issued 59,261 policies last year, for the sum of \$178,389,450, and had outstanding at its close 272,803 policies, for the amount of \$994,151,829.

In these figures no account is taken of the large business done in this city by insurance companies of other States having branch offices here.

A recapitulation of these sums gives the amount of capital employed in banking and insurance at \$692,501,627. The recapitulation is as follows :

Bank capital.....	\$85,166,100
Deposits	165,918,700
Savings.....	180,000,703
Total.....	\$431,085,503
Insurance— Marine.....	\$25,035,785
Fire	44,696,827
Life	191,683,513

	261,416,125
Total	\$692,501,627

The commerce of the city was under the watchful care of two important societies during the colonial period. The

Chamber of Commerce was founded the 3d of May, 1768; chartered 13th of March, 1770, and revived 13th of April, 1784, by an act of the Legislature confirming its charter. This institution established the rates of commission, settled the usages of trade, fixed the value of coins, and otherwise supervised the mercantile interest. The other commercial society was the Marine Society, chartered April 12, 1770, and rechartered by the State Legislature in May, 1786. The business of this corporation was the "improving of maritime knowledge and the relief of indigent and distressed masters of vessels and of their children."

No sooner was the treaty of peace signed than the great Continental powers hastened to stretch forth a hand of welcome to the infant Republic, and ambassadors were appointed to the seat of government. France, the Netherlands, and Spain were all represented by first-class Ministers as early as 1785. As was remarked at the time, "every nation in Europe solicited to partake of her trade." Great Britain alone, chafing under her defeat, remained for a long period sullen, and endeavored by navigation acts and other adverse legislation to cripple the commerce of the States. The West India trade, the most profitable in which New York was engaged, was prohibited in American vessels, and all intercourse forbidden, except in British bottoms, the property of and navigated by British subjects. She only consented to a treaty of amity and the sending of an ambassador in 1791, and only then because of the fear of a closer alliance of America with the French Republic. Nor was this the only obstacle to the development of the trade of New York.

On the 3d of February, 1781, the Congress of the United States had passed an act recommending to the several States as indispensably necessary that they vest a power in Congress to levy for the use of the United States a duty of five per cent. ad valorem, at the time and place of importation, upon all goods, wares, and merchandise of foreign growth and manufacture, to take general effect when the States should consent. On the 19th of March of the same year (1781) the Legislature of New York passed the required act, suspending

its operation until all the States not prevented by war should vest similar powers in Congress. Here, again, as in the act authorizing the legal tender of Continental bills as money in this State, New York had without delay waived its settled opinion and undoubted interest for the benefit of the whole. On the 15th of March, 1783, the Legislature, after reciting in a preamble that several Legislatures of other States have passed laws "dissimilar to the true intent and meaning of the act of 1781," repealed the same, and passed a new act granting to Congress a duty of five per cent. ad valorem, as in the preceding act, but ordered the duties to be levied and collected by officers under the authority of the State. To the provisions of this act the merchants of New York took exception, and on the motion of Isaac Moses, one of the most intelligent and respectable of the Jewish merchants of the city, the Chamber of Commerce memorialized the Legislature to abandon the vicious system of ad valorem duties, which opened every man's invoices and trade to the inspection of his neighbors, and adopt in lieu a specific tariff. The Legislature listened to this petition, and on the 18th of November, 1784, passed an act levying specific duties, and established a custom-house the same day. The veteran Col. Lamb was appointed the first Collector of the Port. When the State adopted the Federal Constitution in 1789, it was compelled to surrender its preference for specific duties, among other and valuable privileges. From that day to this each succeeding generation of merchants has urged upon Congress the importance of a change to the specific system.

Almost immediately upon the return of the merchants exiled by the war, new avenues were sought by them for the extension of commerce. In the fall of 1783 a ship was purchased by some of the most enterprising, in association with their neighbors of Philadelphia, and dispatched to China laden chiefly with ginseng for exchange for tea and Chinese manufactures. This ship—the Empress of China, Capt. John Green—sailed on the 22d of February, 1784 (Washington's birthday), having on board, as supercargo, Major Samuel Shaw of the Revolutionary army, later the first American

Consul at Canton. This was the first American venture in those distant seas. She reached the city (New York) on the 12th of May, 1785, after a voyage of 14 months and 20 days. This venture was one-half for the account of Robert Morris of Philadelphia, and the net profit was \$30,727—over 20 per cent. on \$120,000, the capital employed. Other vessels followed, and as early as 1789 the United States had 15 vessels, against the 21 ships of the East India Company, in the China seas; and in the six years, from 1802 to 1808, of £12,831,099 in value of bullion imported into India, £4,543,662 was from the United States, and of £22,970,672, the value of goods exported from India, £4,803,283 was to the United States. The Empress of China carried the original flag of the United States, adopted in 1777 as the national flag, "thirteen stripes, alternate red and white, and a union of thirteen stars, white, on a blue field, representing a new constellation." This flag, first shown in the Pacific at the masthead of a New York vessel in 1784, was taken round the world by the Columbia in 1789–1790, and by the Franklin of Salem to Japan in 1799. The French Government was quick to stimulate the commerce of the American States, from whose enterprise it anticipated a counterpoise to the maritime power of Great Britain. In August, 1784, the French Consul-General at New York communicated to the merchants an invitation of the King "to avail of the French ports of the Isles of France and Bourbon in their voyages to and from the East Indies," where they were promised "every protection and every liberty they might wish for or stand in need of." To show the importance of the trade which sprung from these small beginnings, it is only necessary to refer to the amount of the total Asian trade of the city of New York, which, in the year closed June 30, 1874, reached the sum of \$36,099,362, of which the imports amounted to \$31,275,679, and the exports hence, \$4,823,683.

In its inception the young marine had other difficulties to contend with than the simple unfriendliness of Great Britain. One of the greatest was the terror spread over the colonies by the report in February, 1785, of the capture of an Ameri-

can vessel by the Barbary pirates, who then infested the Mediterranean Sea, and even ventured in pursuit of their prey into the open ocean. It is almost impossible for us at this day to comprehend the policy which influenced such a naval power as Great Britain to consent to the ignominy of paying tribute to, and taking papers of safe-conduct from, this petty but audacious power. Probably no better explanation can be given than that she considered it for her interest to have a dangerous sea between the near towns of France and the African coast as a shield to her Indian possessions, the highway to which lay through the Mediterranean. Certain it is that at a later day her agents negotiated a treaty between the Barbary States and Portugal, then wholly under her influence, in which it was stipulated that Portugal should furnish no protection to any nation against Algerine cruisers. This treaty, kept secret both by the contracting powers and Great Britain, in 1793 opened the gateway of the Atlantic to the Moors, and ten American vessels fell unsuspecting victims into their hands. The United States, like the European powers, finally consented to pay the required tribute ; but the disgrace at last awakened the pride of the States, a navy was created, and in 1815 Commodore Decatur met and defeated the Algerine squadron, sailed into the Bay of Algiers, and forced the Dey at the mouth of his guns to surrender all American prisoners and all claims to tribute, an example soon followed by the great powers.

The French, though never openly hostile, were never wholly friendly. The French people, who had declared the " rights of man " on the Champs de Mars, and asserted their own freedom in 1789, were dissatisfied with the neutrality of the United States, which they looked upon as signal ingratitude. The Imperial Government in the Berlin and Milan decrees, by which it attempted to enforce a Continental land blockade against British trade, was as indifferent to American rights as Great Britain herself in her Orders in Council, and the adventurous trading vessels of the States had to run a double gauntlet. It was not till after the peace of 1815, and when the gallantry of its youthful navy, led by Hull, Perry, Preble,

Bainbridge, Decatur, and Lawrence, had shown that it was as dangerous an enemy in war as a valuable friend in peace, that the young nation found a fair and unimpeded field for its marvellous activity. Of the rapidity of its movement at this period, the Customs revenue collected by the United States Government is a striking example. From \$4,415,362 in 1814, it rose in 1815 to \$37,695,625, of which \$16,000,000 was taken at the port of New York alone. In the fiscal year ended June 30, 1875, the total amount of Customs revenue for all the United States was \$157,167,722, of which \$109,-207,786 was taken at the port of New York.

The communications with Europe were now largely increased. In 1774 there were only five packet-boats, belonging to the royal service and carrying the mails, stationed between Falmouth and New York, of which one left each port the first Wednesday in every month. They were the Earl of Halifax, the Harriott, the Duke of Cumberland, the Lord Hyde, and the Mercury. Besides these, there were numerous excellent vessels in the merchant service. An instance of the speed of these vessels is to be found in the voyage of the Samson, Captain Henry Coupar, which brought out the act known as the Boston Port bill. This fast ship left London the 10th of April, 1774, Land's End the 14th, and arrived at New York on the 12th of May, making the passage in 27 days. The journals record that this vessel brought an account of the receipt of bills (of exchange) sent from New York to London in one month and 29 days, which was in less time than perhaps was ever known before, considering the distance. The French Government was early in establishing regular packet communication with the young nation. In the fall of 1783, on the 19th of November, before the evacuation of the city, the Courrier de l'Europe, Capt. Cornic de Moulin, arrived from the port of l'Orient, and notice was at once given of the establishment of a line of five first-class ships—le Courrier de l'Europe, le Courrier de l'Amérique, le Courrier de New York le Courrier de l'Orient, and l'Allegator—to make monthly trips. The line was under the direction of Mr. Hector St. John, the

Consul-General of France for Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey, and the immediate supervision of Mr. William Seton as deputy agent. The "noble cabin" of l'Orient was advertised as capable of accommodating forty persons at table. The price of passage was fixed at 500 livres at the captain's tables, and 200 livres for those who chose to take ship's rations, and 120 livres the ton of 2,000 pounds weight, or forty-two cubical feet. This vessel sailed on her return Dec. 19, 1783, and took out a number of passengers, among whom, strange to say, were several officers of the British army. In the commencement of this enterprise the public were informed that the French packet was an immediate channel of conveyance for letters from and to all parts of the continent of Europe, the General Post-Office at Paris having a daily intercourse with all the capitals.

Such was the beginning of regular communication. In 1816, the famous Black Ball line to Liverpool was established, a few years later the Swallow Tail line to London, and in 1824 the Havre line. In 1827, the Liverpool line employed twenty ships, the London line eight, and the Havre line twelve, besides which there were weekly lines to Savannah, Charleston, Mobile, and New Orleans. The average passages outward of the Black Ball line were made in twenty-two days, and the home voyage in twenty-nine days. But steam was soon to change the entire mode of ocean navigation as well as of land travel; and to such an extent that to-day, of all the passenger fleet the only line which continues its regular passages is the old Swallow Tail line.

As far back as 1790 John Fitch had solved the problem of the application of steam to vessels, and is said to have made experiments on the Collect Pond in this city, in which he used the screw as well as the paddle, and within a short period from that date practically carried passengers on the Schuylkill at Philadelphia. In March, 1819, the steamship Savannah sailed from New York for Savannah, and leaving that port on the 25th of May, made the first ocean passage, arriving in Liverpool the 20th of June. On the 7th of April of the same year, the Legislature of New York incorporated an "Ocean

Steam-ship Company ;" but it was not until 1838 that the arrival of the Sirius and Great Western opened ocean steam navigation. The Bremen line was the pioneer of the American steam lines. In 1850 the " Atlantic " began the career of the Collins line, which was for a long period the pride of the nation as well as of New York, but at last succumbed after a series of misfortunes and disasters. The history of our once splendid steam marine is but an episode in the progress of New York commerce. Of all the large fleet of steamers only one now carries the flag of the United States across the Atlantic. Yet the exhibit of its commerce is none the less wondrous for this absence.

In the year 1770, the ships which entered the harbor of New York were 196 in number, the sloops 431—a total of 627 sail. In the year 1828, the arrivals of vessels at New York were 1,400 from foreign ports and 4,000 coasting vessels. In the year ended June 30, 1874, the number of entrances at the port of New York of American and foreign, ocean, steam and sail, was 6,723—5,044,618 tons, and handled by crews numbering 148,246 men. Of these vessels, 4,290 were foreign and 2,433 American. In this number are included 1,108 steamers; 877 foreign and 231 American. Of the American steam-vessels, every one, with one single exception, was from the coast, the West Indies, or South America, the ocean trade having been wholly abandoned to foreigners. The registered tonnage of the customs district of New York was, at the same date, 6,630 vessels of 1,318,-523 tons; 2,810 sailing vessels of 600,020 tons; 788 steam vessels, 351,686 tons; 546 barges, 123,535 tons; and 2,486 canal boats, 243,281 tons. The coastwise trade engaged 2,742 vessels, 1,774,181 tons, of which there were 1,583 steam vessels, 1,517,481 tons, and 1,159 sailing vessels, 256,700 tons.

The internal trade has progressed with equal rapidity. The project of a canal connecting the great lakes of the interior with tide water was the first thought of the city after the peace. In 1785 Christopher Colles, an ingenious mechanician, memorialized the Legislature of New York for the establish-

ment of a canal to connect the Mohawk with the Hudson, and in 1792 a company was chartered, which in five years opened the passage from Schenectady to Oneida, and intended to continue it to Lake Ontario, for which extension the route had been surveyed in 1791 ; but it was not till 1810 that the canal policy found its great advocate in De Witt Clinton. His memorial in 1815 gave a new impulse to the movement. Through his commanding influence, the act establishing the Erie Canal was passed in 1817, and the grand enterprise completed. On October 26, 1826, the sound of cannon commenced at Buffalo, and, repeated from city to town and town to city, announced to New York the completion of the Erie Canal and the final union of the lakes with the Atlantic, the presage of the power and wealth of the city as the great gateway of the western hemisphere. The arrival of the first canal boat on the 11th November following, was the occasion of a grand aquatic and civic pageant, in which the commingling of the waters was typically illustrated by the pouring by Gov. Clinton, the "Father of the Canal," of a keg of fresh water of Lake Erie into the Atlantic Ocean at the Narrows. The measure of this grand improvement may be judged from the amount of produce now brought to market. In 1874 the transportation of produce from the interior of this State and the Western States by canal boats amounted to 3,323,112 tons, and the returns of supplies of various kinds to 753,981 tons. An estimate of the value of the produce brought into this city by the canals and railroads may be made from an examination of the exports from New York in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1874, in which breadstuffs figure to the value of \$91,332,669, and provisions to the value of \$40,193,947, in all \$131,000,000, without estimate of the amounts retained for consumption or traffic with other States. The other principal exports of American product from this port were cotton to the amount of \$41,499,597 ; lard and tallow, \$20,319,514 ; tobacco, \$16,117,749 ; illuminating oils, \$23,121,059. A summary of the total foreign trade for the same year (ended June 30, 1874) shows that of the total imports by the United States, of \$595,861,248 in

value, New York imported \$395,133,622; and of the total exports of the United States, \$704,463,120, \$340,360,260 were by New York; and of a total aggregate of foreign trade, inward and outward, by the whole country of \$1,300,-324,368, New York had \$735,493,882, or nearly 60 per cent. It may not be without interest to present a summary of the trade of New York in geographical divisions. Its total trade (in the year ended June 30, 1874) with foreign American ports, Canada, South and Central America, and the West Indies, amounted to \$163,523,775. Its total European trade, \$533,711,992. Its total Asian trade, \$36,099,362, and its total African trade to \$2,158,753.

In its imports sugar and molasses figured to the amount of \$52,360,176; coffee, \$33,485,559; tea, \$15,024,794.

Soon after the peace, a German society was established under the direction of Cols. Lutterloh and Weissenfels, as President and Vice-President (both of whom had been distinguished in the Revolutionary War, the latter as one of the expedition under Gen. Montgomery to Canada), for the purpose of encouraging emigration to the State of New York, "so that the western part thereof may be settled by those useful members; witness the State of Pennsylvania." So runs the card of "A Friend to Cultivation," in The New York Packet of October 14, 1784; but no considerable movement took place for a long period. In 1824 the total number of emigrants to all the United States was 7,912. The improvement in comfort and diminished risk of the ocean traverse gradually induced a larger movement; but the great impulse to the exodus, which in the last half century has reached nearly ten millions of people, was given by the Irish famine of 1844. The highest rate of emigration was reached in 1872, when 449,042 persons were landed; of these, 294,581 at the port of New York. Since that year there has been a gradual decline in the number; in 1873 it fell to 266,449, in 1874 to 149,762, of which 41,368 were from Germany, 41,179 from Ireland, 19,822 from England, and 7,723 Mennonites—a religious sect from Russia. In 1875 the number landed at this port dropped to 84,544. This decline may be ascribed

chiefly to the long-continued financial and business depression throughout the country. The movement will certainly be resumed upon a revival of trade and renewal of prosperity. This emigration has been a large and profitable branch of the carrying trade, now in great distress in consequence of its decline.

It has been observed that New York has never claimed any preëminence as a manufacturing city, yet as a great industrial centre it ranks next to Philadelphia. The United States Census of 1870 showed that there were then 7,624 establishments, with 1,261 steam-engines and sixteen water-wheels, employing 129,577 hands, at an annual outlay in wages of \$63,824,262, and a capital of 129,952,262. The raw materials used were valued at \$178,696,939, and the annual product at \$332,951,520. In addition to these, the ship-building in the year ended 30th of June, 1874, comprised 89 sailing and 60 steam vessels, 196 canal boats, and 51 barges, a total of 396 vessels, 64,001 tons. It is a fact too often forgotten, but of which the increase of the great landed property to which allusion has been made, by accumulation alone without original enterprise, since the death of its founder in 1848, is indisputable evidence, that no ship arrives, no emigrant lands, no railroad or canal brings its freight to this city, that does not pay some toll and add some value to its real estate.

Let us now pass from the review of the commercial and industrial progress of New York to an examination of its advance in social improvement. Before the Revolution popular education was limited, and chiefly dependent on the aid of churches. Indeed, until this century the education of the lower classes was regarded rather as a favor than a right. Universal suffrage has set forever at rest this fallacy in the United States, and if it have no other advantage, it has at least the indisputable merit that it compels capital to educate labor. William Smith, the historian, writing in 1756, says : "Our schools are of the lowest order ; the instructors want instruction ; and through a long shameful neglect of the arts and sciences our common speech is extremely corrupt."

Noah Webster speaks of the schools in 1788 as "no longer in the deplorable condition they were formerly, and many of them as kept by reputable and able men." But all these remarks apply to private schools. The first action toward general education was in 1791, when the Legislature appropriated the sum of \$50,000 for five years for elementary and practical instruction in this State. To-day the public instruction of the city is under the charge of a Board of Education, who reported the number of schools within its jurisdiction, December 31, 1874, as 287, held in 121 buildings, engaging 3,215 teachers, of whom over 3,000 are females, and giving instruction to 251,545 scholars. The system is maintained at an annual cost of \$3,475,313. New York may safely challenge rivalry on the part of any community, American or foreign, with this magnificent showing of her system of public education, which includes for the higher branches a Free Academy, a Normal College for the education of teachers, a Nautical school, and a school for the compulsory instruction of delinquents.

The institutions for instruction in letters, science, law, medicine, and art must be passed by in silence ; enumeration even would be tedious. Columbia College, the University of the City of New York, and the Rutgers Female College are the principal. Besides these, each religious denomination has its own school system. The College of Physicians and Surgeons heads the list of medical colleges, the Law School that of law—both adjuncts of Columbia College ; but every branch of instruction has its special institution. Reviewing the whole, there are found 3,365 instructors, 277,310 students, and an annual expenditure of \$3,808,381. In addition to these, all institutions incorporated by the State or making a report to the authorities of the State, there are numerous schools for instruction of both sexes in the higher departments of knowledge, some of which are as extensive as the colleges. Of these, the most famous is the Cooper Institute, the munificent donation of Peter Cooper for the education of the working classes—a model institution, which includes free tuition in engineering and the arts of design and modelling.

The earliest organized library in the city of New York was the City Library, founded in 1729. Its rooms were in the City Hall, where the Society Library, organized in 1754 and chartered in 1772, was also kept. Both of these libraries, as also that of King's College, were sacked by the British and Hessian troops during the war. In 1784 (February 12) Mr. Samuel Bard, by order of the trustees, made a public request in *The New York Packet* for the return of such volumes as belonged to the Society Library. To-day there are 23 libraries of circulation and reference, of which the Astor is the most valuable, containing 150,000 volumes. This is a free library, under certain reasonable restrictions. Another, which promises to be of great if not equal value, is that projected by James Lenox. The beautiful structure erected for its reception is one of the principal ornaments of the city. The Mercantile Library follows with 158,034, and the New York Society Library is next in order. The New York Historical Society Library, in the rooms of which we are now gathered, has a valuable collection of manuscripts, public and private documents, bound newspapers to the number of 2,319, historical works exceeding 60,000, and includes a fine museum, with the famous Abbot collection of Egyptian antiquities and the Lenox Nineveh collection. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, yet in its infancy, has already brought together a remarkable variety of curiosities, among which is the Cesnola collection of Etruscan antiquities, and the society is erecting a large building in Central Park.

The first newspaper in New York was *The New York Gazette*, established by William Bradford in 1725. During the war the only journals were Hugh Gaines's *New York Mercury*, Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, and Robertson's *Royal American Gazetteer*, suspended after the departure of the British. In 1784 the newspapers were *The New York Packet* and *The American Advertiser*, published by Samuel London; *The New York Gazetteer*, by Shepard Kollock; and *The Independent Gazette*, or *The New York Journal*, revived by John and Elizabeth Holt; *The Independent Journal* or *The General Advertiser*, by McLean & Webster. To-day New

York boasts of 444 newspapers and periodicals, of which 28 are daily and semi-weekly, 187 weekly, 22 semi-monthly, 180 monthly, 3 bi-monthly, and 16 quarterly ; 32 are in foreign languages, and 99 have a circulation of over 5,000 copies. Of the 10 principal newspapers, one has a daily circulation of 127,000 copies ; the lowest, printed in German, of 30,000 copies. Of the illustrated papers, one weekly issues 100,000 copies. Of the newspapers devoted to literature and stories, one has a weekly circulation of 300,000, and another of 180,000. One of the religious papers issues 78,000 copies, and one of the monthly magazines 130,000 copies. The weight of newspapers and periodicals mailed by publishers at the City Post-office to regular subscribers for the first three quarters of 1874, Jan. 1 to Sept. 30, was 17,392,691 pounds, the postage prepaid on which amounted to \$249,952.17.

The charities of New York are conducted on an imperial scale. Her cosmopolitan munificence is proverbial. To her the eyes of suffering communities, cities, nations, are first turned, and never in vain. Ireland in its famine, France in its floods and desolation, England in the suffering of its manufacturing districts, Portland, Chicago, Boston, scourged by fire, have all found ready and abundant aid in their day of trial, and at home her charity is no less bountiful. The public prisons, hospitals, asylums, almshouses, and nurseries are 27 in number. The Commissioners of Public Charities and Correction made an expenditure last year of \$1,541,685.50 ; the Commissioners of Emigration gave relief to 51,871 persons, at an expense of \$465,108.22. Besides these great public charities there are endless private associations. That for Improving the Condition of the Poor gave relief in 1874 to 24,091 families. There are also 27 hospitals in the city, of which 15 have large and commodious buildings. St. Luke's, the Roosevelt, and Mount Sinai are prominent examples. There are seven dispensaries, chief among which is the New York Dispensary, established in 1790, which supplies an average of 40,000 patients annually. There are two institutions for the deaf and dumb ; three for the blind. There are in addition 26 religious, educational, and charitable Roman

Catholic organizations, 51 benevolent societies, 50 trades-unions, and about 50 other charitable institutions, reformatory and educational. The organized local charitable societies receive and disburse about \$2,500,000 annually. The Department of Buildings reports 66 hospitals and asylums, 1st January, 1876. Where is the community which contributes so much of its wealth to the improvement and support of the ignorant and indigent of its members?

Clubs have grown to be a marked feature of city life. Those of New York, including literary and sporting associations, number 40. Of these the most celebrated is the Union, with a handsome and costly building, and a full membership of 1,000 members; the Union League Club, an offspring of loyalty during the late civil war; the New York, Knickerbocker, Travellers', the Century, (home of Art and Literature,) the Lotos, and the German Club, all provided with refreshment rooms and restaurants, and largely attended.

The limits of the city in 1783 have been described as contained within the irregular triangle formed by the North and East rivers and a line drawn across the island at Reade street. To-day they include the whole of Manhattan Island, $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length, and averaging $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles in width, an area of 22 square miles, or 14,000 acres; and the recent annexation from the mainland of part of Westchester County, before known as the towns of Morrisania, West Farms, and Kingsbridge, gives an additional area of about 13,000 acres. In addition there are the islands of Blackwell, Ward, Randall, Bedloe, Ellis, and Governor, of which the last three named have been ceded to the Government of the United States for Federal purposes; the other islands have been set aside for correctional, reformatory, and charitable purposes. Of the 27,000 acres comprising the city proper, 1,007 acres, or 8,712,000 yards, are devoted to public parks. The Central Park needs no mention. There is no park to be found in any European city at all comparable to it. It only requires an extension of narrow wings to the river sides near by to combine all possible beauties of location and scenery. Of the other parks, the Battery, Bowling Green, and City

Hall Park are of the last century ; Tompkins, Washington, Union, Madison, and Reservoir-square, and at the northern end of the island, Mount Morris, High Bridge, and Morning-side parks, complete the admirable provision of breathing-places for the fast-growing population.

The little town which in 1788 contained in its seven wards 3,340 houses with 23,614 inhabitants, had grown in 1870 to a colossal city, with 64,044 dwellings, and 942,292 inhabitants. Of these 419,094 were foreign born,—234,594 British and Irish, and 151,216 Germans. To these considerable additions must be made. The Department of Buildings reports the total number of dwellings at 84,200 ; of stores, stables, markets, etc., at 16,438 ; of public buildings, churches, etc., at 524 ; a total of 101,162 of all kinds, 1st January, 1876. The recent State census of 1875 carries the total number of the population, including that of the two wards lately annexed, to 1,046,037, an increase of 419,707 since 1865. But although this is the actual number of persons residing within the city limits, it is not the measure of its real population : the true location of population is that where it leads its waking not its sleeping life. To the enumeration made should be added the number of those who visit the city daily, or depend upon it for livelihood and support. Those added would carry the population of the city and suburbs within a radius of twenty-five miles from the City Hall to more than two millions.

The lower part of the city is quite irregular in construction, but from Houston street to the northward is laid out upon a regular and well-devised plan, essentially that made by the Commissioners appointed by the Legislature in 1807 (Gouverneur Morris, De Witt Clinton and others). There are broad avenues running in parallel lines to the end of the island, traversed laterally by parallel streets, all of which are designated by numbers. To this recent changes have added extensive boulevards which connect with the Central Park and offer long and pleasant drives. Broadway, the most famous of New York, and, indeed, of American avenues, is an exception to the general rule of regularity and runs across five

of the parallel avenues in a north-westerly direction. This is the great shopping street, and is lined with enormous retail stores and hotels. Fifth avenue, extending northward from Washington square, and skirting the eastern limit of the Central Park, is, with its splendid private residences, churches and clubs, one unbroken series of architectural display.

The public buildings are numerous, and some of them grand as well as graceful. For massiveness, the Custom-house in Wall street, originally built for the Merchants' Exchange, and the new Post-Office, are the most noted : for grace and beauty, the old City Hall, and the Sub-Treasury in Wall street. A new order of architecture has recently sprung up, of which the Tribune building with its tall tower, and the Western Union Telegraph building, are the most aspiring examples. Structures are being erected all over the city of great size and costliness, both for stores and as private residences. The fourteen churches in which the little city worshipped in 1788, have expanded, with their adjuncts of mission organizations, into 470, of which there are 344 distinct edifices, providing seats for 350,000 persons. Connected with the Protestant churches are 356 Sabbath-schools, which give instruction to 88,327 scholars. Many of the churches are large and imposing. Those most marked for their beauty are Trinity, Grace, St. George's, the new Fifth Avenue Presbyterian, the Reformed Collegiate, and the Jewish Synagogue. The Roman Catholics are erecting a cathedral in the Gothic order, with all the emblems of the new cardinalate, which will surpass all other New York churches in architectural beauty and grandeur.

The Croton Aqueduct has been alluded to. The supply of water is drawn from the Croton River, a clear, pure stream of remarkable quality, in Westchester County, which is conducted to the city through a covered way of solid masonry $40\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length. It has a capacity of 60,000,000 gallons a day. It crosses the Harlem River on the High Bridge, a granite structure 1,450 feet long, 21 feet wide, 114 feet high ; is received in two great basins in Central Park, and distributed from two reservoirs through 350 miles of pipes.

The utility of gas was first demonstrated to the citizens in 1817, and in 1825 mains were laid on Broadway. Five chartered companies now supply the city. Of these the Manhattan has two works, which deliver gas through about 170 miles of street mains to 30,000 private consumers and 7,000 street lamps.

The markets are 11 in number, but with hardly an exception are utterly unworthy of a great city, yet the enormous business transacted in them deserves notice. The sales of food for cash were reported by the worthy and efficient superintendent, who lacks neither the will, energy, nor intelligence to make the market system an honor instead of a disgrace to the city, as amounting to \$130,000,000 in the year 1874, of which Washington Market alone received \$108,000,000. In the height of the season miles of country wagons from Long Island, Westchester County, and the Jerseys line the streets leading to this great country mart, and form as busy a scene, from daylight until late in the forenoon, as can well be imagined. Mr. Devoe, the Superintendent, is authority for the statement that 1,350,000 persons, of both sexes and all ages—1,000,000 residents and 350,000 daily visitors—are fed, every business day, in the city. The Superintendent of Public Buildings estimates the average daily number of guests at the hotels at 200,000.

In 1783, and for many years after the beginning of the present century, travel was still in the old-fashioned primitive manner, and communication from State to State, though more frequent than before the Revolution, did not greatly differ in kind until a much later period. The first land route to Boston was opened in 1732, and stages ran to and fro, starting from each point once each month, and made the single trip in fourteen days. In 1787 the Boston stages set out from Hall's Tavern in Cortlandt street (No. 49) every Monday and Thursday morning, arriving in Boston in six days. In the summer months a third trip was made in each week; the fare four cents per mile. In 1827 a stage left each city daily, and reached its destination in thirty-six hours. To-day the Express trains on the railroads make an easy communication

within eight hours. In 1785 the first stages began their trips between New York and Albany, on the east side of the river, with four horses, at the rate of four cents per mile. In 1787 two stages set out for Philadelphia every evening from Powles Hook, Jersey City, at four o'clock, going by the way of Newark, where they stopped for the night, and reached Philadelphia the next day. Another line went by way of Communipaw (Bergen Point), stopped at Elizabethtown at night, and arrived at Philadelphia the next evening. Besides these a stage-boat, leaving the Albany pier twice each week, connected with a stage wagon at South Amboy, which took passengers to Philadelphia by the way of Burlington; and in addition a boat left Coenties slip every Saturday, if the wind was fair, reached New Brunswick the same evening, and returned to New York the next Tuesday. To-day the trip is made by railroad in three hours.

The first steamboat on the Hudson was the Clermont, built by Robert Fulton in 1807, which moved at the rate of five miles the hour. In 1828 the arrivals and departures of steam-boats at New York reached 6,400. They transported 320,000 passengers. To-day the fast summer boats run to West Point, fifty miles distant, in $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours, a rate of twenty miles the hour.

Steam was first practically applied to railroads in the year 1830, when the Mohawk and Hudson, connecting Albany with Schenectady, was opened. The first railroad out of the city of New York was the Harlem, completed October, 1837. This road began at the City Hall, and in 1841 extended to Fordham in Westchester County. There are now (1875) three great railroads having their terminus at the Grand Central Depot, a fine and convenient structure at the corner of Forty-second street and the upper end of Fourth avenue. All these are now under the management and control of the great capitalist and railroad king, Cornelius Vanderbilt. These are the Hudson River, New York Central, and the Harlem, which connect the metropolis with the interior of this State and the Western States. The New York and New Haven carries passengers and freight to the Eastern States, and starts from

the same depot, below which steam is not allowed on the city streets. Five railroads connect the city with the interior of Long Island, all having their terminus on the Long Island side of the East River. These are the Long Island Railroad to Greenport at the eastern extremity of the island, the South Side to Patchogue, the Flushing and North Side to Great Neck, the Central to Babylon, the late construction of A. T. Stewart. From the Jersey shore the Erie Railway runs through the State to Buffalo, thence to the Western States, and communications are maintained by an endless network of roads which centre at Jersey City, with the Middle and Southern States. The average speed on these roads is about thirty miles an hour.

The travel was for a long period confined to stages, which, under the name of omnibuses, reached their height in 1851, when there were twenty-four lines. A few lines still remain, but they are gradually disappearing. Our older inhabitants remember the palmy days of the famous lines of Kipp and Brown, the Chelsea and Knickerbocker. The first city railroad for horse-cars was the Sixth Avenue, established in 1852. The Harlem R. R. Company had used this mode of conveyance at an earlier day, but rather as an adjunct to their steam line than as a convenience for city travel. The last report of the State Engineer for 1872 gives the number of passengers carried as 134,588,877, at fares varying from five to eight cents. The steam elevated road, the pioneer of rapid transit, carried the same year 167,153 passengers, at a fare of ten cents. The ingenuity of the best engineers is now tested to devise some mode of rapid transit which may keep pace with the increase of travel, already outrunning all present accommodation.

The first use of steam on ferries was on the Jersey City Ferry, in July, 1812. To-day there are twenty-three ferries, all steam, connecting New York with the west shore of the Hudson, Hoboken and Jersey City, Staten Island and Long Island. The boats to Brooklyn and Hoboken run every five to ten minutes by day, and every fifteen to twenty minutes by night, at fares ranging from two to four cents each passenger. The

official returns made to the city authorities in 1865 reported the number of passengers carried at 82,321,274. The system of leasing the ferries has taken this valuable franchise from city supervision, but the natural increase of the city and suburbs would carry this number to 100,000,000 as the lowest estimate for the present year. It has been stated that the estimate of the persons who enter and leave the city every day for purposes of business is not less than 300,000. These facts seem to indicate that the centre of the travel of the city and suburbs, of which the cities on the opposite shores are, practically, part, is not far distant from the City Hall Park.

In 1790 the Hackney Coach stand was at the Coffee-House, and the charge one shilling per mile. In 1875 there were 1,800 licensed coaches in the city. Yet the city is in great need of some improvement in the present cab system, for which Paris and London offer such admirable models.

The mails were carried in the early days by men on horseback. In 1673 the post rider began his trips to and from Boston once in three weeks.

During the exciting period which preceded the Revolution, the famous Paul Revere, about whose name, as the Express Rider of the Sons of Liberty, cluster memories as sacred as those which attach to the Grecian runner who brought the holy fire from the Delphic altar, kept the communication between Boston and New York, and Cornelius Bradford between New York and Philadelphia. As an instance of the speed of these journeys, it is recorded in the journals of 1789 that John Adams, then at Braintree, received despatches from Congress in fifty hours. In 1775 the mails were made up in New York twice each week for Boston, once for Albany and Quebec, and three times for Philadelphia and southward. In the winter the Albany post was carried on foot. In 1783 the post-office was kept in a private house, at No. 38 Smith street, where the postmaster dated his notices and made up his mails. In 1810 the amount received for postages in New York was \$60,000; in 1826, \$113,893.71, and twenty-five persons, including clerks, letter-carriers, etc., were employed in the post-office. To-day the mammoth structure at the

southern angle of the City Park is one of the chief ornaments of the city. Besides this great building there are twenty branch stations ; the total force employed, including carriers, who make seven daily deliveries, numbers 1,193. In the year 1874 there were delivered by carriers 33,689,117 letters and postal cards, and 16,634,475 city letters ; the postage received amounting to \$2,589,384.94.

More remarkable is the wonderful growth of the system of telegraphic communication. The Western Union Company, in addition to its large and convenient structure, has 90 branch offices in the city alone, employing 371 operators, 214 messengers, and 238 clerks and other employés. In the year 1875, messages passed over its wires in the city to the number of 242,316, and from the city to other points 1,543,878, in all 1,786,914, or more than ten per cent. of the total messages, numbering 17,153,710, which passed over the lines of this mammoth company in the year mentioned.

Of hardly less interest to the citizen is the American District Telegraph Company, one of the most useful adjuncts of modern city life ; valuable also in that it employs boys in its service, and trains them to habits of promptness and fidelity, which will in time show good results in efficient public labor of more important kinds. This company, organized in 1871, has now 3,700 instruments in houses, public and private, throughout the city, and a staff of 500 messenger boys. In the past year they delivered 1,107,454 calls, of which 580,886 were their own district business, the remainder deliveries for the Western Union, with whose local offices they are connected. In addition to this service they delivered 1,890,600 circulars and cards of various kinds.

It only remains to show the progress in the value of taxable property in the city to complete the showing of its growth and establish its progress in the century, 1776 to 1876, which has been under consideration. In 1801, the total valuation of the real and personal estate of the City and County of New York was \$21,964,037. The official valuation in 1875 was, of real estate, \$883,643,845, and of personal property at \$217,300,154—a grand total of \$1,100,943,699. To this

must be added the large amount of personal property exempt from taxation held by individuals and associations, certainly not less than \$300,000,000, and the sum of property will be found to reach \$1,500,000,000. Great complaint is made at this time of the depression of business, but allowance must be made for the extreme expectations of our business men, accustomed as they are to the rapid successes of the past. Surely, when the foreign trade alone of New York reached the sum of \$735,000,000 in the year 1874, there is still some hope left for the future. Evidently the grass is not to grow in the streets this decade, and the glory of the city is not wholly departed! It is peculiar to the life of great cities that depression in one branch of trade is the cause of increase and thriving in other ways, and that there is a constant compensating balance between the richer and poorer classes of society. Economy and extravagance follow each other in alternate rise and fall, and with its injuries, each metes out its benefits to the community as well as to individuals, while stimulated in turn by each alternately, the life of the city itself maintains its health and vigor, all the better perhaps because of the change.

The marvels we have witnessed in the present century in the use of steam, and the development of the electric and magnetic forces, which now seem destined to supersede it as motors, are reasonable grounds for hope of new applications and new discoveries as marvellous. What changes they are to make in the life of mankind none may prophesy, but it is not unsafe to predict that New York will continue to grow and prosper, to become greater and wealthier in the same increasing ratio as in the past, and that the values of 1885 will show as wondrous an advance over those of 1875 as those of 1875 over those of 1865. What its progress may be in another century no intelligence can measure, no imagination conceive.

In the rapid summary of New York progress a large field of interest has been left wholly untouched—perhaps the most important field of all, that of political government. Nowhere in the history of modern civilization has the experiment

of popular government been more severely tried than in this city, where so large a proportion of the foreign immigration which has built up the national prosperity has been received, and so small a proportion of the better element of that immigration been retained. The best minds of the community have been turned, and are still turned, to that serious question in popular government, the harmonizing of strong local government with the principle of universal suffrage. The history of our city charters is that of a series of experiments to this end.

Probably its solution will be found in the results of the constant, unremitting, and noble efforts in which thousands of our citizens of both sexes are daily engaged to raise the moral and physical standard of our population, and fit them for the blessings which the experience of history has shown that no other form of government than the republican is capable of bestowing with equal hand upon the rich and the poor. The coming century will resolve this difficult question. If history provide the element of prophecy, it is safe to assume that the solution will be in favor of individual liberty and popular government.

In thanking you for your kind attention, I beg to urge the necessity of a warm and generous support to this institution, in which alone the materials of a history of our great city are to be found, and to note my own deep obligation to the efficient assistant librarian, Mr. William Kelby, who is himself an accurate living compendium of knowledge on every subject of historical interest concerning New York.

